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Home Rule movement

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செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர் K. [illegible]

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக
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சரிபார்க்கும்	சரிபார்க்கும்	ஆராய்ச்சி
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கையொப்பம்	கையொப்பம்	கையொப்பம்

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Extract from the

Report on English & Vernacular Newspapers

The Role of Press in the Home Rule Movement in Madras

Page 921 to 1093

a small clique of agitators, in a mistaken spirit of conciliation. While the demands of the extremists are too riddiculous to be seriously discussed, a gradual advance in the direction of giving the people a larger measure of self-government ought to be determined upon and first steps to it taken."

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516. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 11th January 1918, para 6, page 62).

New India, of the 11th January, observes:- While the destiny of India must be decided by India herself, by her own determination, by her will to freedom it is none the less true that she needs representatives in England during the coming months, who can speak her mind to England's statesmen, and make them feel the reality of her determination, the strength of her will.

"The question to be decided is not whether India shall have Home Rule or not, nor even whether she shall have it at 'an early date' or in the distant future. Those questions are already decided by India herself; she will have Home Rule and she will have it at an early date. When a nation hasbeen stirred as India has been stirred, when she has set her compass towards the North, to Dhruva, the Pole Star, on the brow of liberty, when her steady hand holds firmly the helm of her ship, then there is no power on earth which can stay her course. All that her worst enemy can do is to raise a whirlwind of opposition which may drive her, against her will, out of the current of swift reform into that of revolution. ..... There is one man in India who stands out as pre-emenently equipped for the task. As an old Congressman and ex-President of the Congress, who has been closely in touch with Indian opinion; as an ex-Judge, trained to balance

judgment and to hold equally the scales of justiceas a Member of Viceroy's Council, possessed of inside knowledge as wellas of Knowledge of Indian needs and hopes; as well acquainted with the leading men of Britain, who know his patriotism and value his opinion, Sir Sankaran Nayar is obviously the Indian (xxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx) needs and hopes, as well) who should go to England with the Secretary of State to represent India as Mr. Montagu represents Britain. Chosen by the Crown as one fit to represent India in the Supreme Government of the land, he has the stamp of Imperial appointment as well as the approval of the nation."

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517, A Home Rule League meeting.

(Dated 3rd January 1918, para 50, page 75).

The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd January, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting held at Kumbakonam on the 1st idem under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. V.K. Ramanuja Achariyar when one Mr. Dandapani Pillai of Madras is said to have addressed the audience at length on the necessity of Home Rule for the improvement of trade and industries in India. In the course of his speech, the following observations find a place:- The free exploitation of India by foreign nations has ruined its trade and industries. In addition to this, 150 crores of rupees are going to other countries year after year in the shape of profit. If we acquire Home Rule, we can promote education, trade, industry and agriculture in this country and see that raw products are exported only after meeting our requirements. The Westerners are carrying away our money like anything. It is therefore necessary that we should vow to buy and use only swadeshi goods.

The Naradan, of the 8th January, notes with regret that the decision come to by the Ø Congress before the last that the Home Rule work should be carried on in the country throughout the year and that some representatives should be sent to England to work there simultaneously was not given effect to in practice and observes:- Mr. Joseph Baptista says that a deputation from here is now necessary in England to combat the evil influence of the enemies of India there and acquaint the British public with the state of affairs in this country. Apart from the agitation of Lord Sydenham and others against the interest of this country, the Nayar party here are said to contemplate the extension of their injurious campaign also to England. Though this may be regarded as a vain threat, it is indeed necessary that some representatives should proceed to England to carry on the work to be done here, there is not the same enthusiasm as was evinced during the internment of Mrs. Besant and others, and we can quote Ø the enclosure of the Home Rule classes, which were started to train young men to deliver lectures on Home Rule in different centres, as an instance in point. If this is to be the method of work done by the Madras patriots, no value can be ~~said~~ set upon their patriotism. Herculean efforts are necessary in our country in connection with the acquisition of Home Rule. The Home Rule clarion should be sounded in each village in every corner of the country. The majority of the people here should realise the necessity for the Home Rule. Then we may be deemed to have proceeded half way towards the acquisition of Home Rule.

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518. The Home Rule fuss.

(Dated 5th January 1918, para 71, page 82).

In the course of a leader condemning the "fuss or the platform and in the Press" made by the Home Rulers the Dravidan, of the 5th January, writes:- One of the resolutions passed by the Congress is that a statute should be passed in the Parliament immediately promising ~~to~~ complete Home Rule to India within a few years and permitting the prompt introduction of the reforms embodies in the Congress League scheme. This resolution cannot affect the Indian people in any way. The Parliament is not going to pay any heed to it at present, nor is it necessary that it should do so. We do not see what urgency there is for the authorities to brush aside all their work connected with the war at this dangerous juncture and grant Home Rule to India forthwith. The Brahmans and their supporters want, perhaps, to hurry the matter through under the impression that if the grant of Home Rule is postponed it may be useful to them. New India threatens the authorities that, if Home Rule is not granted, it may lead to a serious constitutional agitation in this country, and adds that the whole of India is at one in aspiring for Home Rule. But we have often pointed out that the latter statement is not true. When the major portion of the people in South India are saying that they do not want it, it is incongruous on the part of New India to say that the whole of India wants it. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea, in speaking on the self-government resolution, made fun of the statement said to have been made by one of the deputations that waited on Mr. Montagu in Madras that they would oppose Home Rule till the last drop of blood remained in their body. Our reply to him is this. No one need oppose Home Rule. It has already ceased to exist. We think

that Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea will himself sing an epitaph on Home Rule at the Besantaine fair next year. It is only when the Brahmans give up their racial arrogance that the Home Rule proper will be resuscitated like the phoenix of old.

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519. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 8th January 1918, para 77, page 84).

A correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 8th January meets the argument of the Home Rulers that the fitness of the Indians for Home Rule is proved by many of them discharging the duties of high officers satisfactorily by remarking that it is because the Government are ever on the alert to protect officials against the attacks of others and observing that, if Home Rule is granted, there will be no one to protect them like that, says that what is wanted is only a reconstitution of the British Government and not a revolution, which it is that is now demanded by the Home Rulers and for which the people are neither ready nor inclined.

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520. Mrs. Besant and the Congress.

(Dated 9th January 1918, para 132, page 1000).

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 9th January, has a lengthy leader on the marginally-noted subject of which the following is a resume:- The Congress was, on this occasion, presided over by Mrs. Besant who read a lengthy address in support of, or rather in demand of, Home Rule. She has made a mountain of this mole hill in the shape of a brochure in which she criticises the British Government in not respecting Indian aspirations.

But we ask her to say in what way has she herself appreciated Indians. The Mussalmans, too, constitute a community in India. Has she ever considered the deplorable state of that poor body, and whether Mussalmans are likely to be benefited by Home Rule? She throws cold water on the claims of Mussalmans, and causes them concern by demanding Home Rule. If instead of being a domiciled Indian she were a pure Hindu, we do not believe she would ever dream of such a thing. It should be noted that India is not inhabited by Brahmans only or a few people educated in English over whom she is disposed to weep, and be concerned about. If she were to consider the condition of the panchama community and that of the impecunious Mussalmans, she would understand. If Home Rule is really a cloud pregnant with blessings for India, why does Mrs. Besant hesitate to say that the British Government is an enemy and not a well-wisher of the country in refusing to grant such a profitable and valuable thing? The fact is Mrs. Besant cannot be a true friend of India as compared with the British authorities, for she has no connexion with this city (sic) nor any relations. This being the case, we cannot understand whence these feelings of sympathy of hers.

The foremost problem for solution in India is, communal representation, technically known as separate representation, and as long as the representatives of each and every community are not found on the Councils and in public service, and as long as the majority of the Brahmans continues, so long there can be no concord in India. Mrs. Besant wants to increase the power of the Brahmans alone.

The English public will conclude from the presidency of Mrs. Besant that among Indians there is not a qualified person for the office. The fact of the choice having falled upon her makes their ability for self-government very problematical.

We believe that this significant criticism will rouse Indians to a sense of self-respect and make them realise, that when they are not fit to preside over the Congress, they can hardly be regarded as qualified for Home Rule. That is sound logic. Home Rule will result in the establishment of eternal discord and perennial jealousies among the different communities.

The result of Home Rule would be that M.A.'s and B.A.'s will be in authority, and poor peasants, labourers, artisans, and indifferently educated persons will be their slaves, in which case their condition would become from bad to worse. Avoiding Scylla they would fall into Charybdis.

The editor asks the real well-wishers of India to courageously endeavour to avert the coming calamity, otherwise beloved India will become a hot bed of wrangling and contention, and its honour will be dragged in the mire.

The duty of Mussalmans is to bear in mind their backwardness in education and their poverty, and to see to it that British rule continues on a firm basis. Their welfare lies in this alone. It is through British rule alone that they can save themselves from being down trodden by powerful communities.

It is hoped that the Government will not disappoint faithful Mussalmans, that it will grant them all their rights, support them, and give them an opportunity of ameliorating their lot.

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521. Anti-Home Rule agitation.

(Dated 22nd Januaty 1918, para 6, page 108).

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The following appears in New India of the 22nd January "Commercial firms, "interested in India" are being circularised by the Indo-British Association, appealing for funds to carry on an extensive propaganda in English England against Home Rule for India. Having exploited Indian soil to further their own ends, these commercial firms will now utilise Indian money to throttle Indian aspirations. Having eaten of our salt, these merchants and ex-civilians will turn traitors to the country which helped to fill their pockets and will carry on an active propaganda to ruin it. But what better thing can be expected from these selfish people! On the other hand, it is incumbent upon us to concentrate our efforts on a comprehensive scheme of propaganda in England on a much wider scale. It is necessary to show up these conceited Anglo-Indians in their true colours."

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522. A Home Rule meeting at Ambasamudram.

(Dated 10th January 1918, para 49, page 124).

The Swadesamitran, of the 10th January publishes from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a public meeting held at Ambasamudram on 5th idem under the auspices of the local Home Rule League, which contain a resolution condemning the statement said to have been made by Dr. T.M.Nayar at the South Indian non-Brahman confederation held on the 29th December, 1917, that the Home Rulers were carrying on their agitation at the instigation of Germany, as a desirable lie and a baseless aspersion cast upon the patriots who are rendering unselfish services to the country.

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523. The women of India and Home Rule.

(Dated 12th January 1918, para 55, page 126).

The Desabhaktan of the 12th January, beseeches the women of Southern India to copy those of Bengal in rendering patriotic service to the country and makes the following appeal to them:- Note the depressed condition of your country. It is seeking your assistance. Do your duty. There is nothing illegal in our demanding liberty. The grant of Home Rule to us by our sympathetic Government depends upon our perseverance, determination, sincerity and efforts. Join the Home Rule agitation, along with the men and play your part.

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524. Home Rule.

(Dated 15th January 1918, para 93, page 135).

The Prapandhamitran, of the 15th January, writes:- Home Rule means the Government of a country by its people for their benefit and the Home Rule that India demands is a rule on the lines of that obtaining in the colonies subject to the British empire. The desire of the Indians is that they should have the same liberty, equality and fraternity that is enjoyed by other subjects. They are not averse to being subject to the English or to the continuance of Englishmen in India. The loyalty of Indians has been sufficiently demonstrated in this war. The fact of Indians not having been allured by Germany is itself a sufficient proof of their loyalty. Therefore the grant of Home Rule to India will glorify not only India but also the Indian Empire.

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524. The anti-Home Rule agitation.

(Dated 15th January 1918, para 94, page 135).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 15th January, refers to the latest move of the Europeans and some "traitorous" Indians in trying to obstruct the Home Rule movement by insisting upon the sanction of the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament for any legislation sought to be introduced by Indians in connexion with industries or trade and observes:- One of the objects of our demanding Home Rule is to improve the Indian industries and to promote the conveniences and the influence of our merchants. But the English merchants want their Indian compeers to be slavishly subject to them. This is the meaning of the theory now started by the anti-Home Rule agitators. Does this not show that it is very necessary that the Indian merchants should unceasingly strive for the acquisition of Home Rule?

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525. Home Rule and the Labour Party in England.

(Dated 15th January 1918, para 101, page 137).

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The Desabhaktan, of the 15th January, refers to the comments of the Madras Mail, criticising the favourable attitude of the labour party in England towards the grant of Home Rule to India and observes:- We hear that some traitors intend to proceed to England to deceive the Labour Party by false allegations. Before that, hundreds of patriots should go there and appraise the British public of the real condition of India. The labourers in England are fully aware of the misery of the poor people in India. England knows that a few have sprung up here and are, actuated by Anglo-Indians injuring the cause of the country. Our friends proceeding to England to do harm to the country will doubtless return

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528x insulted. These traitors do not seem to have understood the sincere opinion of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, President Wilsom and others. India is sure, by divine efforts to be benefited. Those who do injury clashing with this divine efforts is sure to be punished by it. We should not waste our time here in arguing with the traitors to our country. It is our duty to acquaint the English people with the true condition of India before Mr. Montagu announces his opinion in the Parliament.

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526. The non-Brahmans and Home Rule.

(Dated 16th January 1918, para 105, page 138).

A correspondent to the Naradan, of the 16th January condemns the campaign of a few against the Home Rule movement, on the ground that if Home Rule is granted it will practically be a Brahman rule, and appealing to them to give up their hatred of the Brahmans and serve the cause of the country, says:- Friends! Think of the greatness of our past and our present poor condition. The Anglo-Indians deem us to be brutes. A white, who is inferior to us in wealth, education and status, commands us. Alas! Pity indeed. should we ~~swear~~ suffer like this? In the Railway carriages they have a separate compartment; in the hospitals, a separate ward and even in jails, special conveniences. Oh sons of Bharata! Do you not feel for all this? If we get Home Rule, will they treat us like that?

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527. A deputation to England.

(Dated 19th January 1918, para 126, page 144).

The Kistnapatrika, of the 19th January, says under this heading :- It is the opinion of many that unless the Home Rule agitation is carried on in England also, it will not suceed. This matter was moved and approved of in the Luck now session of the Congress. .... It is to be regretted that our leaders brushed aside necessary discussions, wasted wasted their time on unnecessary details, and when they had to consider important questions, pleaded want of time and adopted the committee system. We know that the bureaucracy also escapes, when it does not wish to do a thing, by saying that it will be referred to a committee. We also see that when the Government take this step our leaders object to it. When the leaders themselves are following such a shabby course it cannot but be said that they have caught the contagion. If the Congress does not undertake this work of deputation, at least the Home Rule Leagues should do it. Mr. Baptista has already gone to England on behalf of the Bombay Home Rule League. He has written to the Congress leaders that unless many able men go to England and work there is no use. Mr. Tilak, and three others mean to go to England from Bombay. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Chittaranjan Das and Mr. Vyomesa Chandra Chandravarti are preparing to go to England from Calcutta. We do not know what the Madras Home Rule League is going to do. ... Among the Andhras there are many able men like Messrs. Sarma, Ramachandra Rao and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It is the duty of the Andhras to exhort them to go to England. ... There is no use if we hesitate to spend the money required. How can a country that cannot spend a few lakhs at least be deserving of Home Rule? See how freely each country is to day sacrificing men and money for liberty. We need not sustain such loss and make such a sacrifice. If we can collect some lakhs, the Home Rule movement will

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be crowned with success. Delay is dangerous. The people should awake and besiege England with their representations. Writers debators, speakers, influential traders, etc., should go to England and work with singleness of purpose, with firmness and with tact. The people should help them with money.

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528. Mrs.Besant and Home Rule.

(Dated 30th January 1918, para 5, page 154).

The Wednesday Review, of the 30th January, remarks:- "Pessimism is generally the besetting weakness of old age. But Mrs. Besant seems to be a staggering exception ~~of~~ to the rule. Her optimism is without bounds and has scarcely a parallel. It is a sort of political avarice which carries its own condemnation. She has absolutely no doubt that the ultimatum which she sent to the British Government as the President of the Congress will be accepted. .... We may be pardoned if we looked upon Mrs. Besant's arrangement as a trifle preposterous. The epithets which she enumerated with such glowing enthusiasm India should first deserve before she gets Home Rule. But Mrs. Besant's is not the natural way, and India's political future will be an instance of political topsy-turveyedom if Mrs. Besant had her way."

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529. Prospects of Home Rule.

(Dated 16th January 1918, para 47, page 164).

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The Dravida Patrika, of the 16th January, observes:- Our readers need not, however, be afraid of the attacks of the London Times on the Congress. The demand for Home Rule is to receive support from unexpected quarters. The deputation that is to proceed to England will din the ears of the English public with the necessity of the grant of Home Rule to India. There are members in Parliament like Commander

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Wedgwood who are repeatedly asking questions on Indian matters. "The Home Rule of India League" in London is evincing active interest under the guidance of the Countess De La War. Last but not least is the sympathy of the Labour Party which has been secured. So we need not have any fear about the accomplishment of our object. But all the same we should send a deputation to England promptly, to acquiant, the British public with the falsity of the arguments adduced against Home Rule by some retired civilians and Christian Missionaries in England, who are trying to make it appear that the Home Rule movement has been started only by Mrs. Besant and that the people in India do not desire to have Home Rule. The cry of Home Rule for India should be made to reach every English Home. It is only then that it will become an established fact.

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530. Mr. Tilak on the Home Rule .

(Dated 16th January 1918, para 51, page 166).

The Dravida Patrika, of the 16th January, invites the attention of its readers to the pronouncement of Mr. Tilak against the communal representation in a speech delivered by him some weeks back, in the course of which he is reported to have stated as follows:- It is the Government themselves that are responsible for having made the Indians, a good-for-nothing timid lot, by means of cruel laws like the Arms Act. The Congress party has been crying for the last thirty-two years for the repeal of these laws. Just like the adage--a mountain in labour brought forth a mouse--Lords Morley and Minto granted some useless reforms to the people in 1907. It is on account of the present system of Indian administration, in which a feeling of distrust predominates, that India is not only unable to help England at a nick but is alw always an anxious burden upon her. If India continues like

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like this for some time longer, not only will she be ruined, but she will doubtless drag down England also. It is only now that English statesmen have woke up and realised the necessity of granting Home Rule to to the Indians and infuse new life into them. We need not regret that we are not able to help Englishmen in this war. This is not the last war in the world. There will be many wars hereafter and India can surely be of much use to England then. If Englishmen rely completely upon the assistance of India at that time, the Indians should be granted Home Rule even now. As Englishmen have realised the necessity of taking this step, the Indians should refrain from making much of the petty differences among them, and given up the demand for communal representation, for it will only rake up old sores and mar the union of the country. If we are divided, we fall.

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531. <u>Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 18th January 1918, para 67, page 170).

The Naradan, of the 18th January, writes:- If the Government of a country is to be good in all respects, the responsible positions in it should be under the control of the people. England, Japan, France and America may be quoted as instances on this point. In every country, primary importance should be attached to the advantages or otherwise of the people of that country. This will be possible only in countries where the rulers and the ruled belong to the same race. Where it is otherwise, the situation also changes. In the several countries in the world with are under the sway of foreigners, it is the interests of the ruling race that are attended to and no attention is paid to those of the ruled. For example in foreign countries, where the Europeans are the rulers, they deemed the people of the country belong to an uncivilised race and replace the sciences, arts,

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etc., of the Europeans. As this means a large amount of expenditure for the subjects and they have to do it by means of a foreign language they often fail in their attempt and gradually lose all their vitality and become almost living corpses. Some days back, the British Prime Minister and the American President stated that a system of Government based on the will of the people should be introduced throughout the world. This may affect the avarice of the ruling races in several places. But what is the use of one preaching a rule without practising it himself. We hope the Prime Minister, who wants the countries subject to Germany to be granted a representative Government will not hesitate to adopt the same course in the case of India. But the Anglo-Indians and their papers, which raise a cry against the grant of Home Rule to India, appreciate the statement of the Prime Minister that a representative Government should be confered on the Negroes in Africa. Somehow the same words are detested by these people if applied to India. What can be done? It is India's salt, which they have eaten tha makes them her enemies. Some crafty Englishmen are for granting Home Rule to India, but say that the Indians have not the capacity to manage it. If, after having been under the British rule for 150 years, we have not the capacity to govern ourselves, which the Negroes have acquired within a few years, who is responsible for it? Is it not the English Government? So, those who bring the charge of incapacity against the Indians are not finding fault with them, but with the English Government, and thereby insult them. Instead of gagging such traitors to the country who revile the Government, the latter are deporting and imprisoning patriots who approach them with a parental love and represent their grievances. Those who question the capacity of the Indians do not remember the antecedents of the majority of the Englishmen who occupy

high positions in India, and a few of them conducting the administration from England. Do not a good number of these belong to the class of fishermen and shepherds and have not these fishermen and shepherds and persons following other mean professions risen to eminence by dint of their intelligence? Can, then, the Indians, who are known for their valour and who have been esteemed as a ruling race for thousand thousands of years, be unfit to manage Home Rule?

Referring to the conference of the Viceroy the Secretary of State for India and the Provincial Governors at Delhi to consider the reforms which may be found necessary in the administration of this country, the Dravidan, of the 21st January observes:- We learn that the members of the Conference would consider well if the various petitions presented in different places contain practicable suggestions. There is no doubt that the Secretary of State, who is an expert in political matters, will introduce many reforms which are indispensable to this country. We can say on sufficient authority that he would not listen to the prattlings of the Home Rulers. We all know what the political creed of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu is. We can safely assert that he will strive for reforms fit for India. To endeavour to get Home Rule in 1923 is like striving to get a thing which is out of our reach. It must be the duty of the patriots to try to get reforms that are likely to be granted. We must rise step by step in a way that will be approved by the world and not desire to drive out the present bureaucratic Government and rule Indian ourselves. It may be asserted without hesitation that India would come to the position that Russia has come to. Perhaps the Brahman Home Rulers want to quarrel with non-Brahmans, take possession of the country and govern it in

in the manner in which the Bolshivikans and Ukranians are ruining their country by entering into internal dissensions. This cry of the Home Rulers against the British Government and the interests of non-Brahmans will only result in their own ruin.

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532. The necessity for Home Rule.

(Dated 19th January 1918, para 71, page 172).

The Desabhaktan, of the 19th January, reports Mr. William Archer, the author of "India and its future" to have stated in this book that if proper Home Rule is not granted to India, the British administration in India will end in a chaos, and that every Englishman should bear this in mind, and observes:- Oh Anglo-Indians! read with attention such portions of Mr. Archer's book as relate to politics. Let us see whether you would become sensible at least then.

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533. An anti-Home Rule meeting.

(Dated 19th January 1918, para 73, page 173).

A correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 19th January reports the proceedings of a public meeting recently held at Velukkudi, Mannargudi taluk, in which speeches are said to have been made impressive upon the audience the selfishness of the Brahmans striving for Home Rule and the incapacity of the Non-Brahmans for such a rule, the cry raised in vain by the Home Rulers at the instigation of a woman and the necessity for the spread of education among the masses.

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534. A Home rule meeting at Trichinopoly.

(Dated 21st January 1918, para 90, page 177).

The Desabhaktan, of the 21st January, reproduces in Tamil the substance of the speeches made by Mr. P.D.Asher and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Nayudu, respectively, at a meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 17th instant in the course of which the former is reported to have stated that the economic condition of this country has been has been ruined, and its people have been impoverished on account of the Government imposing heavy taxes and restrictions in connection with the cotton trade and industries and not establishing many cotton mills, and the latter is again reported to have refuted the argument of some that the grant of Home Rule means the entrusting of the administration to the Brahmans and remarked that the Government were taking special interest in the non-Brahmans.

535- The main necessity for Home Rule.

(Dated 21st January 1918, para 95, page 179).

The Naradan, of the 21st January quotes from the open letter of Mr. Mulji Dhulalji Ved of Bombay to Mr. Montagu a statement that all the foodstuffs produced in India are taken away to foreign countries, when the Indians are suffering for want of provisions, and observes:- This is, in our opinion a very important reason for our demanding Home Rule. Though India has lost its past glory and opulence, the fertility of its soil has not gone down. Even now, if it is administered properly, there will be no famine in it. As the foodstuffs produced in the south are exported to foreign countries the rice required by the people in the south comes from Rangoo[n] while the freight for getting the rice here also goes to foreigners. The wheat produced in India is sent away to

foreign countries and the people here purchase it at 2 measures per rupee. They say that the introduction of the railways has conferred a mighty benefit on the people. But, as a matter of fact, it has only created facilities for the products in one end of the country being removed to the other end easily and exported thence to foreign countries.

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536. Home Rule flags.

(Dated 21st January 1918, para 100, page 180).

The following observations are found in the "Notes and comments" of the Dravidan of the 21st January:- Home Rule flags have not been prepared in consonance with the wish of all people; and it will, therefore, be our duty as patriots to see that these flags are not hoisted here. It is foolish to hoist such flags and spoil the country when we have not got Home Rule under the British Government. These flags have been intorduced by some selfish people in their own interests as the flag of the Indians. As we are unable to do anything without the help of the British, the flag of India must be of their design, accepted by the British Parliament and respected by all Indians without difference of opinion. Some of the Home Rule papers, that were published one or two days ago, state that arrangements are being made to improve the Home Rule flag. It is said that the British flag will be sketched in a corner thereof. We would ask those selfish people if the Home Rule flag was designed after consulting the general public. In what meeting and under whose advice was the national flag prepared? Who authorised the Home Rulers to design the national flag and improve it? Was it the British? If not, will it be accepted over the whole world? Is it not a disgrace to hold up a flag which is not accepted? Let our non-Brahman brethren, therefore, discard that dangerous flag.

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537. Zamindars and Home Rule.

(Dated 22nd January 1918, para 107, page 182).

Referring to the hardships inflicted by the zamindars on their people, the Prapanchamitran, of the 22nd January states:- Zamindars, who own no zamins and rajas who have no territories to rule over, and who were all along unknown and were engaged in cock-fighting and bull-baiting, have now come forward shamelessly to say that Home Rule should not be given to India. We need not lend our ears to their words. If the Governor of Madras should come forward and announce tomorrow that Home Rule will be given to Indian in five years, and asks respectable men to go about and lecture to the people on Home Rule, and if the zamindars who deliver such lectures are to be given titles, there will be no zamindar who would not preac preach Home Rule. Our Zamindars, who say they do not want Home Rule, have neither patriotism, nor discretion or sense enough to abide by the advice of others. Their interferenc e with the good of the people is unjust.

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538. India And Home Rule.

(Dated 23rd January 1918, para 112, page 183).

The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd January, writes:- Though the British Government have promised to grant a responsible administration to the people in course of time, this phrase "in course of time" will become a meaningless one, unless the time referred to therein is definitely ascer tained even now. This is our practical experience. The East India Company ruled over this country for 24 years after the Parliamentary statute of 1833, without giving effect to its provisons. It is this neglect of the statute that made Queen Victoria take over the Government in her own hands and issue a proclamation that no difference would be made

between Indians and others. We need not say how the bureaucrats have fulfilled the Promises of Queen Victoria and her successors. Hence the necessity of ascertaining even now what is meant by the phrase "in course of time". Then again the steps to be taken immediately to secure responsible Government for India in course of time should be ascertained. Our main prayer is that the control of the purse connected with every department except the military should be in the hands of the popular representatives and that the executive Government should be subject to them. We cannot accept anything short of these. We should now urge our aspirations in England. Even taking for granted that Mr. Montagu approves of our demands and prevails upon the British cabinet also to do so, we cannot accomplish our object without the sympathy of the British public . Our readers are aware that in response to the appeal of Mr. Baptista, a number of gentlemen are proceeding to England to lay the Indian view before the people there. At this juncture there is work even for a hundred capable Indians there. Our enemies too, are beginning to feel the ground giving way under them. The Indo- British Association in London seems to be raising funds to work against us. Its members are no doubt rich men, for they may have the enormous amount of money they earned in India. So we cannot compete with them in the matter of expenditure. But we have the strength of our cause being a just one, and we trust that our people too will not hesitate to spend money in this matter. The sons and daughters of mother Bharata, who helped in cash and this matter. The sons and daughters of mother Bharata, who helped in cash and kind to relieve the distress of a few Indians in South Africa will surely render all the assistance that they can to plead the cause of the people throughout India before the higher tribunal of the British public and obtain justice. The time of our test is fast approaching. Every Indian should be ready to respond to it. ---

539. <u>Home Rule and the Native States.</u>

(Dated 31st January 1918, para 160, page 197).

The Vrittanta Patrika, of the 31st January, writes:- In connection with the demand of self-government by the people of India, there naturally arises the question regarding the position of the Native States which are all bound to the Government of India by solemn treaty obligations and privilege In the event of a change in the Indian constitution, one or two (representative) assemblies will have to be constituted in British India to exercise the powers which are now in the hands of the Government of India. In the event of any such change, who is to exercise control over the Native States? At present they have their rights and duties determined by the British Government through the Viceroy. Should this system be changed, the control will have to pass into the hands of the newly-constituted assemblies; and this will be contrary to existing procedure. Will the Rulers of Native States, who are now under the control of the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, consent to be placed under the control of these assemblies? This question has naturally creat created some anxiety and doubt in the minds of those who are now entrusted with the task of administration in the Native States. There should, therefore, be an intermediate authority between the Native States and the British Government which is that authority to be? We dont see how it can be created. It will be the duty of this authority to protect the interest of the States, and also to keep the States within proper bound bounds, and further to advise the British authorities when extraordinary or grave situations arise. At the same time these States should not be led to think that they have no concern with British India. Since they are geneally surrounde on all sides by British territory, they ought not to shut

their eyes to the state of things among its neighbours, for, the situation there is bound to affect these states as well. Then should not the Rulers of Native States have a voice in the administration of British India? It is easy to raise thes questions, but it is difficult to answer them, so that the result may be satisfactory to the Native States and British India alike. His Excellency the Viceroy has already twice convened conferences of these rulers. There was thus opportunity given to them to discuss all matters among themselves confidentially regarding their relations with their own subjects, with the Government of India and with the British Government. It is to be hoped that the decisions arrived at by them will be received by all parties in a spirit of true love, confidence and forbearance, and that India and the Nativ States will work hand in hand for the harmonious development of the country as a whole in any scheme of reforms they might decide upon. (If British India should have control over the Native States, should not the latter also have a necessary and just measure of voice in the administration of ~~India~~ British India?).

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540. Mrs. Besant and Home Rule.

(Dated 31st January 1918, para 3, page 201).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 31st January, writes: "Mrs. Annie Besant has been lecturing at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the "work before Us," a full text of which is now before us. Whatever our differences of opinion with her -- and they are unfortunately very sharp -- we must give her credit for hammering on her views day in and day out, in spite of old age and the large volume of opinion against her methods of agitation and ideals of Government for the India to day. While acknowledging her great abilities and sincerity we cannot but regret that she should embark on

on destructive criticism and neglect the real work that lies before us. .... When the Home Rule League was started it was given out that that body was brought into existence simply to co-ordinate and support the work before the Congress but at this time we ask, what the League has done to justify this claim. If sending out emissaries to the interior villages, to hold public meetings and to take the High Priestess's photo through the streets in procession constitute the wor, work, the League has achieved it. But we hold this is mere gla glamour intended to delude a highly emotional people yet to learn the rudiments of politcical grammer. ... To the villa- villager the visit of a demagogue, like that of a peripatatic acrobat or a performing bull, is an event, and moved by elequence he is easily amenable to singing any document or creed whose meaning he is not aware of .... Very many of us are still to learn the duties and ~~xx ix~~ responsibilities of citizenship, the right value of the vote and the fundamentals that equip a nation for ruling itself. It is foolish to suppos suppose that all those requisites would come of their own accord the moment we get a Home Rule Government; it is foolish nay it is criminal, to preach that all the evils India is labouring under, the appalling poverty of her people, the periodical outbreaks of famine, and pestilence, the high incidence of taxation, are all due to foreign domination. Yet it is this sort of poisonous rubbish that is being rammed down the throats of the masses. The noisy Home Ruler who attacks the Government with vehemence is discreetly silent when it is a question of protecting the masses from the cupidity and oppression of their masters. In our own district, rack-renting and melcharths are grinding down the masses; slavery is not a thing of the past in some of the villages, ~~situation~~ situated far away from the beaten tracks of civilization, and the average landholder takes away from the ryot much more than the Government take from the farmer for which

they are roundly denounced. ... In Malabar if the masses are to get salvation it will not come from ~~from~~ the Nambudiri Home Ruler or the vakil politician who lives on his rich client who is generally the landholder. If they are to be saved from the rack-rent and eviction, the anti-Home Ruler must act and he has already expressed his intention to take the question up.".

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541. Home Rule and the Nottingham Labour Conference.
(Dated 6th Febraury 1918, para 7, page 203).

In a leader on this subject, Justice, of the 6th Febraury, says:- "The resolution about Indian Home Rule at the Labour Conference at Nottingham was withdrawn. That much is admitted even by the Indian Home Rulers. The Hindu has scarcely any doubt as to the wilful misrepresentation of the London correspondent of the Madras Mail. There, the certainties of the Hindu stop and speculation begins. .... Under those conditions it is rather hard to ask Home Rulers to say whether they approve the Hull Labour scheme or not. Home Rulers can only say, like a distinguished military comma commander in days gone by, that if the Hull Labour scheme contains the proposals of the Congress League scheme then it is superflous, but if it does not contain the details of the Congress League Scheme, then it is pernicious. In either case oppose it.

"But in opposing the Hull Labour scheme the Indians in England seem to have gone a little too far. They are said to have repudiated the representative capacity of Mr. Polak. As we understand that Mr. Polak received his authority from Mrs. Besant herself, this repudiation of his representative character is nothing less than Lese Majeste. Of course,

no Indians will be foolish enough to commit such an offence Her Theosophical Majesty. ..... Mr. Kesava Pillai asks a very unpleasant question as to what is the source of the telegram which conveyed the information about the action of Indians in England against the Nottingham resolution. No reply is forthcoming. No reply is needed. When the sender of a letter or a telegram is not forthcoming, look out for Mahatmas. Mahatma M and Mahatma K.H. Have their time sent many a letter and many a telegram. The British labour party is like clay in a potter's land to these invisible wirepullers."

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542. The Indo-British Association, London and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 8th Febraury 1918, para 10, page 204).

New India, of the 8th Febraury, says:- "We reprint the minutes of the meeting in London from a pamphlet now being circulated among Europeans in India, so that Indians may have the advantage of knowing what their opponents are doing abroad. The pamphlet is part of the vilification now being carried on to mislead the British public. It is one of the interests of India to expose this carefully organised conspiracy against the uplift of India. .... This campaign has two lines of attack, one important, the other unimportant the one national, the other individual. The first vilifies the nation and its civilisation, representing these in a shameful light, and applying to India as a whole superstitions, and cruelties which may be found among aboriginal hill tribes, thus giving the idea that India is a semi-civilised country, which the benevolent British are uplifting from barbarism. ... The second is directed against Mrs. Annie Besant, and its only importance lies in the fact that

that by spreading slanderous or ridiculous stories about her, they hope to discredit the national movement which they ascribe to her. The ridicule is clumsy, such as the statement that she drove with a tandem under a big umbrella in a procession. The first is a mere invention; the umbrella is real, but the ignorant scribe does not know that such an umbrella is a traditional sign of high authority in India, and that the Emperor and Empress in their procession at the Delhi Darbar drove under just such an umbrella! ... Mrs. Besant is thinking of bringing libel suits against two or three prominent papers and persons in England pour encourager les autres, for such lies blacken the Home Rule movement in the eyes of the ignorant."

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543. Home Rule to India.

(Dated 23rd January 1918, para 40, page 215).

Referring to the conference of the Provincial Governors at Delhi which the Home Rule papers do not view with satisfaction, a correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 23rd January, remarks:- From the time of Mrs. Besant's release the Home Rulers have begun to think that the Provincial Governments have not the capacity to understand Indian affairs. They have thought that the Government of India, too know nothing. They might have gone further and stated that even the Secretary of State has not yet acquired the requisite administrative capacity. But is it not on account of Mr. Montagu that Mrs. Besant was released? Therefore the Secretary of State has escaped the abuse of the Home Rulers. While the Viceroy and the Secretary of State were touring in India, the Home Rulers did their utmost to magnify the strength of their party and sent many deputations requesting the grant of a responsible form of Government to India. Not content with this they are publishing in the papers that the

Secretary of State has become convinced of what they have said and has entertained the idea, that India must necessarily be given Home Rule. They may say anything they like. Who can prevent them? The Secretary of State and the Viceroy are not ordinary persons. They did not tour in the country merely to spend their time and to comply with the request of Home Rulers. Whatever their individual opinions may be, they are responsible to make the Privy Council and the Parliament in England believe that their recommendations are acceptable to the Indians. It is not possible to say if those, who preach that India will get Home Rule by simply hearing the words of Mrs. Besant, have understood the situation in India rightly.

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544. <u>Home Rule meeting</u>.

(Dated 23rd January 1918, para 41, page 216).

A correspondent to the Dravidan of the 23rd January, while giving an abstract of the proceedings of a Home Rule meeting held at Ellayur in Nannilam Taluk on the 17th idem, reports the chairman of the meeting to have said that the benefits conferred by the British Govenment to the Indian subjects have been conferred only with a view to their own interests and not for the good of the people, that as a person in order to get plenty of milk from a cow provides it with fodder, etc., the British Government have opened railways, telegraphs and post offices, laid roads and sunk wells and are taking away all the wealth of the Indians, that they purchase the article of this country at a low rate and make much profit out of it, and that they are thus deceiving the Indians and impoverishing them. He is also said to have stated several times that all the people should join together and ask for Home Rule, as it would not be granted otherwise.

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544. Indo-British association.

(Dated 23rd January 1918, para 42, page 216).

Referring to the efforts of the Indo-British Association, to protest, if necessary, against any recommendations of Mr. Montagu in favour of Home Rule to India, the Dravidan, of the 23rd January observes:- There are many agitations set up in India. Of these, the Home Rule agitation started by Mrs. Bes Mrs. Besant is the one that affects India most. In a telegram published by us yesterday, the attempt of the Indo-British association in England to stamp out the irresponsible Home Rule agitation has been made clear. It is our important duty to render the necessary help and make it a success.

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545. The Madras Mail and Home Rule for India.

(Dated 26th January 1918, para 71, page 224).

Adverting to the appeal made by the Madras Mail to every European here to acquaint the public in England through his friends here with the fact that Home Rule for India is demanded only by the Brahmans and that if it is granted it will mean the suffering of the major portion of the population of this country, the Desabhaktan, of the 26th January, observes:- Of course, the Europeans have to do their work hereafter and act upon the suggestion of the Mail. Some "Loyal Indians," too, may join them. All the same we have to do our duty. That India will progress is quite sure. It is the contention of this paper that the Brahmans will lead if Home Rule is granted and, as these are only a few in number are always exclusive, the administration will prove injurious to others. True it is that the Brahmans from the minority. But we do not see how this means that Home Rule would be a rule by the Brahmans. Now, the English men stay in India, of which they do not know anything for, some time and return to England soon after they have made sufficient

money. What interest have they in India and how can they have an idea of the true condition of the people here? Under Home Rule, will tere be a separate compartment for the Anglo-Indian in railway trains as is the case now? Will the Brahmans then be paid a higher salary than other classes in Government appointments, as the Europeans are now drawing higher rates of pay than the Indians? Will the rule now in force that it is only Anglo-Indians and not others that can carry arms continue then? We can surely say that all these things will not exist then. Then again, the Mail remarks that there are a very few educated men in India and that therefore the majority of the people have no idea of politics. How many educated men were there in England when a democracy was established there and how many are there now? It seems there is a woman in England even now who does not yet know that a war is going on. How were the Phillippinos when they came under the sway of America? Is not the Mail aware of their having acquired Home Rule after twenty years? We can quote numerous other instances. Sufficient has been the drain of the blood of Mother India. She is now very weak and emaciated and her children too have woke up. Let the Anglo-Indians throw any number of obstacles. There is the Almighty to help us.

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546. <u>The Home Rule movement and anti-Home Rule paper.</u>

(Dated 28th January 1918, para 84, page 230).

The Naradan, of the 28th January, writes:- One of the papers published in Madras on Friday last compares the cry for Home Rule raised by Home Rulers to the croaking of frogs and observes that Englishment would not pay any heed to it like the English mariners. But the steamer of Anglo-Indian opinion characterised by selfishness and arrogance, and that of ginorance displayed by persons devoid of manliness who dance tothe tune of Anglo-Indians will be dashed to pieces by the violent

storm, the turbulent waves, the cyclone and icebergs of the Home Rule agitation set up by the Indians. This is the opinion now given expression to by Sir B. Fuller, Lionel Curtis, P.C. Lyon and others who were until recently navigating these steamers. Perhaps the opinions of these Anglo-Indians have not reach the ears of this paper, which writes in this strain, on its false premise that, if Home Rule is granted, the Brahmans alone would occupy the front ranks. This paper, instead of helping towards the advancement of the community for whom it is intended gets entangled in the meshes of the snare laid by others and does not harm to itself and others. Its action is comparable to that of a mouse, which hating the fowl, tries to cultivate friendship with a cat.

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547. British merchants and Home Rule.

(Dated 14th Febraury 1918, para 11, page 259).

United India and Native States, of the 14th Febraury has the following:- Among the many reasons pressed into service by reactionary Anglo-Indian journals in their selfish agitation against the extension of the political privileges of the Indians, the most outstanding one is their anxiety that under a Home Rule administration the special consideration to their vested interests will be a thing of the past. The Madras Mail in a recent issue remarked that Home Rule is a menace to the prosperity of the British merchants. So the cat is out of the bag. Indians are to be denied for ever the right of manging their country's ~~governing~~ affairs under the benevolent supervision of Great Britain because under a self-governing India, the British merchants will not enjoy that favoured treatment resulting in their prosperity which they were looking forward all along as their special prerogative. .... The confession as to Home Rule being a manace to the prosperity of the British merchants ought to make it clear to the British democracy that the agitation headed by Lord Sydenham

is based chiefly on pure, unadulterated selfishness."

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548. Home Rule and the depressed classes.

(Dated 1st Februaury 1918, para 57, page 273).

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The Desabhaktan, of the 1st Februaury, takes exception to the leaders in Madras expressing their inability to address the depressed classes in Tamil while the muffassal leaders are doing yoeman service in this direction, and observing that it is because the Madras leaders are not able to reach the depressed classes that the anti-Home Rulers get these classes into their clutches, suggests that steps should be taken to educate the lower classes in the city on political questions, and adds that if these classes can be convinced of the advantages that would accrue to them from Home Rule, the tactics of the Angb-Indians will not suceed with them.

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549. An appeal on behalf of the Home Rule

(Dated 2nd Februaury 1918, para 60, page 274).

The Naradan, of the 2nd Februaury, publishes from the pen of a correspondent, an appeal to Dravidans, to sacrifice their body, soul and wealth in the country's cause, and not to follow the advice of those who are against Home Rule and whom the correspondent characterises as traitors to the country This appeal contains the following observations among others:- We read in the newspapers every day that the Anglo-Indians of the present day treat us like dogs. If we acquire Home Rule, the whites will not treat us with disrespect. Our industries will then flourish. There will be no famine in India and the Indians will have enough to live upon. The wealth of our country will not go out of it. Education will advance and we will live happily. If you just consider over the matter, you will

never speak against Home Rule Some selfish persons who not only spoil themselves but spoil others have no other explanation to offer for their attitude against Home Rule than that Home Rule would be Brahman Rule. Bow down before MotherIndia, singing the Vande Mataram song. Adopt Swadeshism and be persistent in your demand for Home Rule. Love your brethren and seek the means for the advancement of your country.

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550. **The anti-Home Rulers.**

(Dated 2nd Febraury 1918, para 77, page 281).

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The Naradan, of the 2nd Febraury, writes:- Even some persons born and bred up in this Tamil land have, with a view to obtain the co-operation of some Anglo-Indians and with the object of marring the glory of this land, come out as enemies of our Home Rule movement and accuse those, who now demand Home Rule, of being traitors to their king and of being ungrateful in that they forget the enormous benefits they have derived under the English rule. The words of these only echo the views of the Anglo-Indian papers which, eating of our salt, cause injury to us. As for the first charge of treason, we would point out that, as a king stands loco parentis to his subjects, our position is only that of a child complaining of its grievances to its mother. Is it just or wise then to accuse us (Home Rulers) of treason? Coming to the second charge of ingratitude, we have not forgotten the benefits we have had under the English rule, which are numerous indeed. But let us see how far we have been benefited in the matter of education which is admitted by all to be the foremost advantage which the people of a country can derive from their king. It is seen from statistics regarding education that only 6 per cent of the people have ordinary education and that there is only one school for every five villages in this country. Evne as regards the

expenditure on education, it comes to only one anna per head in India against Rs.6-12-0, which is the least amount spent her head on education on the continent. How can education improve under these circumstances? As for the Government, they have to spend their income in other indispensable directions. How are we then justified in blaming them? They have to pay thousands and thousands to Englishman comin coming out as executive officials like the collector. All the same, we want education. Without education we will go down further and it is to avoid this that we demand Home Rule. If we have Home Rule, we can spend a sufficient amount on education and we can secure facilities for advancing in other directions. That is why, we, as children, approach the English Government which stands in the position of a mother to us, and pray that our aspiration for Home Rule be satisfied. Such a prayer can in no way be deemed to be treason. We hope that the Indians who follow the Anglo-Indians will understand this at least hereafter and keep quiet.

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551. Our enemies.

(Dated 5th Febraury 1918, para 94, page 287).

Dwelling at length on the objections raised by some Anglo-Indians and European merchants to the grant of Home Rule to India and the endeavours made by them to thwart the attempts of the Home Rulers to secure Home Rule and attributing these objections to their fear that the grant of Home Rule will prejudicially affect their interests in this country, the Naradan, of the 5th Febraury, characterises th these Anglo-Indians and European merchants as also the Indians, who, according to this paper, are under their influence, as the two great opponents to the cause of Home Rule and observes:- Unless we rectify our present condition

and acquire Home Rule so as to enable us to advance like the other races, the poverty that is now afflicting us cannot be rooted out, the darkness of ignorance cannot be dispelled and servitude will not cease. Though we have been realising this truth for several years, we have been at a loss to decide the steps to be taken for achieving this end. At last, we have thought it fit to acquire Home Rule by any means and are putting forth our best efforts in this direction.

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552. Home Rule is not required.

(Dated 6th Febraury 1918, para 133, page 297).

The Mukhbir-i-Dekkhan, of the 6th Febraury, publishes a letter from a correspondent in which he dwells, at length on the disadvantages that are likely to accrue from Home Rule:- The writer observes how regrettable it is to find that at such a critical time when the British Government is engaged in crushing its enemies, whose mischief and wickedness demand the undivided attention of the Government, Indians should make demands which, on the one hand, embarass the Government, and, on the other, cast a slur on their loyalty. The Government have not opened the avenues of higher education to us, in order that we might, at such a critical juncture, worry them, and put a period to our loyalty and obedience. It is still more regrettable that some Muhammadans, having joined hands with Hindus, are conning over the strain of Home Rule, and are teaching their co-religionists to be faithless and disloyal.

In India Hindus are superior to Muhammadans in point of numbers, education and wealth. In these circumstances, for the Muhammadans to want Home Rule is tantamount to their desiring to become the slaves of the Hindus.

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553. **Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray and Home Rule.**

(Dated 14th Febraury 1918, para 7, page 304).

The West coast Spectator, of the 14th Febraury, says:
"We have received Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray's letter to his countrymen' on the present situation which will no doubt be read with considerable interest. .... Very rightly Mr. Ray asks his country men to beware of tin-gods of the market place and false prophets certain visionary idealists have set up in the sacred tabernacle of the mother.

"These tin-gods are worshipped like the gods of Isreal and there is no denying the fact that their counsel has crea created a serious situation in the country. Unwarranted abuse of the Government an unnecessary agitation and fights over nothing are the orders of the day, and Mr. Ray very rightly asks for how long this state of affairs is to conti nue. The extremists have cast to the winds the first article of the Congress constitution and proceeded to agitate without rhyme or reason. ... In the midst of the tremendous
The extremists many of whom don't even know what Home Rule is
* and frenzied howls set up by Mr. Ray's sagacious words and
is likely.
warning would not be heard. It is in the interests of the country however that he must be heard, and that is the rea- reason why we demand a moderate organisation."

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554. <u>The Indo-British Association, London, and Home Rule for India</u>.

(Dated 16th Febraury 1918, para 9, page 305).

New India, of the 16th Febraury, remarks:- "So the enemies of India are at work. The campaign of vilification started in this country by a handful of commercial exploiters--of course with the passive sympathy of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats--has been taken up by their friends and relatives in England. It is but natural that these brother conspirators should clasp hands across the seas and combineto carry out their unworthy and mischievous ends. One would treat the activities of this ignoble band with the contempt which they deserve, were it not for the fact that by means of xxxxxxxxx attracious falsehoods they are trying to mislead the British public, and that, it is our firm conviction that if they succeed the British Empire, in India will coll collapse like a house of cards within a short time, -- an end which we, as the really loyal subjects of the Government, cannot contemplate without serious misapprehensions. .... Those who have deceived themselves into the belife belief that England can hold India much longer by means of the sword have, in their self-conceit and self-interestednes shut their eyes to the realities of things, to the teachings of history and to the laws of human psychology.

"The proceedings of a meeting of the so-called Indo-British association, that we published in New India of the 8th, 9th and 11th Febraury, will have given our readers an insight into the activities of this self-constituted body of played-out exploiters and exhausted bureaucrats. But for the money that they xxx amassed from the helpless masse during their temporary sojourn some of then would not be Lords and sirs today, and would not occupy the position

which they are now using against Indian interests. ... There is a real awakening in India. The Indian does ~~not~~ no longer believe in the bogey of the superiority of the white nations. He had an evidence in the Russo-Japanese War twelve years ago. He sees it today in the war that is going on between the white nations of Europe. The delusion that the white nations were made to rule and the coloured ones to let themselves be ruled has disappeared. This is a critical stage in the history of India and of the British Empire. Therefore it behoves our rulers not to be blinded by the prejudices of a group of self-seeking, self-centred and self-conceited political exploiters, or even, by the pomp and splendour of their possessions, or infatuated with the sense of their own irresistible strength, but they shou understand the forces at work. Any repetition of the blunder made in the past would be ruinous to the professed mission of England in India. If they brace themselves to a policy of repression, as they did in the past, their future is anything but bright. The entire British nation is on its test today. The task before it is stupendous; but India has still hope in Great Britain. She sincerely hopes that the eyes of the wise men will not be sealed so that they may not see nor their minds bewildered so that they may not understand."

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555. New India and Home Rule.

(Dated 16th Febraury 1918, para 10, page 306).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 16th Febraury, writes Mrs. Besant, rather New India, the 'uncrowned king (sic) of India' as a Congress orator said the other day, has sent up a ultimatum to the Government of India, which reminds one of the famous bray set up in First Line Beach by the Anglo-Indian journalist with the Eurasian mentality, to frighten Mr. Montagu. The Government should give the Home Ruler the whole hog, not the Curtis nostrum, and if they fail they are threatened with an agitation unparalleled in the history of India! We are reminded, in this connection, of the famous ultimatum sent up to the eagle by the jays:-

"Now, yield thee up thine eyrie unto the carrion kite
"Or, come valiently and meet the jays in mortal fight!"

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556. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 8th Febraury 1918, para 63, page 329).

The Desabhaktan, of the 8th Febraury, publishes a Tamil rendering of an article on this subject contributed by Mr. John Page Hopps, an Englishman, wherein he states that the officials, merchants and spiritual teachers, nay almost the whole population of England, trembled with fear when the Home Rule question was at first discussed in connexion with Ireland, as it involved the probable loss of a country from their possession, that it is the main object of the British people that they should be the rulers everywhere and always keep under their control theterritories in their position and that the words "Home Rule for India" have not yet reached the ears of the British public as it is very few Englishmen that now speak about this

subject and makes the following observations among others:-
The ~~xxxx~~ expression "Home Rule" causes a fear to the bureaucrats in England. But thousands of Englishmen are very sorry that India is being governed for the selfish interests of England. Some are of the firm conviction that it is the British rule that will do good to the people and are anxious that they should conduct themselves fairly towards others. We have to note particularly that there is an ocean of difference between the officials, bureaucrats and merchants on the one side and the Englishmen who can think for themselves on the other. As the officials and others have got the power in their hands, the ideals and the actions of Great Britain are being regulated by them. But, behind these, there is the British public which has a sincere love for liberty. Though the British people do not usually take notice of the conduct of the officials, ~~xx~~ we can expect many benefits from them. But they know nothing about India and it is, therefore, the primary duty of the Indians to acquaint them with the true condition of India. The English men in this country are under the impression that, if the British Government should part from India, the Indians would instantaneously quarrel with one another and kill themselves. There is another obstacle in the way of India to get Home Rule viz., the alleged unfitness of the Indians for Home ~~x~~ Rule, This is the view of those who are benefited by India not having Home Rule, who are unwilling to forego this benefit and who think that they are cleverer than any one else in the world. But we have heard and read enough to know that in every country those who are in power are unwilling to part with their influence and dignity and always thward the efforts of those who strive for liberty. It is wrong to say that the Indians are not fit for Home Rule. The Indian National Congress is itself sufficient testimony to the administrative capacity of the Indians.

The bureaucrats know nothing about their trials and difficulties. They are themselves the people who can find means for getting rid of their troubles. If Russia is said to be fit for Home Rule, India must be said to be all the more fit for it. If, even in England, the principle that people should not be given liberty till they are perfectly fit for it, had been adopted by the bureaucracy, the House of commons would not have come into existence at all. Therefore, what I would say is that India should take care of herself. She should never get disheartened. The people should not ask for minor ~~xxxxx refor~~reforms, but contest day and night for complete freedom. Associations should be established throughout the country to work for Home Rule. The National Congress should work for Home Rule throughout the year. Swadeshism should be adopted to support the efforts for Home Rule. The National Congress should work for Home Rule throughout ~~Ke~~ the year. Swadeshism should be adopted to support the efforts for Home Rule. The indigenous trade and industries should be patronised by the Indians. There is no use of depending on others.

In a leading article under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 15th Febraury, writes:- The question of granting Home Rule to India is being considered in England. When India gets Home Rule the Anglo-Indians will have to submit to democratic principles. It might be difficult for the autocratic to turn democratic just as a man-eater will find it hard to satisfy himself with the blood of inferior animals. Will a man addicted to strong drinks such as liquor be satisfied with the water of a tender cocoanut? The fight of the Anglo-Indians for the retention of their autocratic powers is as natural as that the Indians should ask for Home Rule. Lord Sydenham is justified fighting on behalf of the Anglo-Indians just as much as several of the Indians are right to fight for Home Rule. Doctor Nayar and others

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are also right to fight for the continuance of the autocratic methods. It is a cardinal principle in the scheme of the universe that there always ought to be conflicting elements in it. Among the British people those having democratic ideals outnumber those who are of an opposite nature and similarly Indians too are, as a rule, of a democratic turn of mind. If their views are thoroughly understood by the British democracy, India will assuredly get Home Rule. The editors of Madras Mail and the Justice proclaimed to the world that Lord Sydenham had adviced the Labour party to withhold their support to Home Rule, but the Home Rulers in India have received the news that the Labour party has not done so and that they are of opinion that it is but right that India should be granted Home Rule. We may therefore be therefore be sure that the first-mentioned information is false. The British people are democratic and British Justice is opposed to autocracy. The very fact that the British people unmindful of the expenses and other heavy losses caused by the war, arecarrying on the fight with the Germans in order to crush their militarism gives us an insight into the true nobility of their nature. There can be no harm if in spite of this, the anti-home rulers say that the British democracy is on their side and that autocratic rule will take firm root in the country. The Home Rule cause will in no way be affected thereby. Even the villagers are beginning to understand that the party of Doctor Nayar and other opponents of Home Rule is on the side of unrighteousness. It is never right to set Justice at naught with an eye to some worldly benefit. Those who do injustice will never fail to reap the fruit of their deeds. We have abundant proof of it in history.

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557. Home Rule lectures at Madura.

(Dated 12th Febraury 1918, para 83, page 342).

The Swadesamitran, of the 12th Febraury, reports from the pen of its own correspondent, that Dr. P.Varadarajulu Nayudu of Tiruppur has been delivering at Madura for the last a week a series of lectures in Tamil, and that in the last of the series Mr. George Joseph a Barrister-at-Law, who presided, has made the following observations among others:- A deputation of some of us must go to England Even then, we should be agitating incessantly in India too! We must have the support of the people of this country comme commensurate with our cry and our strength. The cry raised by the deputation in England alone will be a cry in the wilderness. Speeches should be made in vernaculars in the villages to infuse political knowledge into the masses. Ther There is no doubt that if the people of India join together and agitate both here and in England, our object will be gained. If we agitate, the Government of India too will join our deputation and strive with us.

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557. What is Home Rule.

(Dated 13th Febraury 1918, para 84, page 342).

The Desabhaktan, of the 13th Febraury produces, from the pen of a correspondent, an article under this heading wherein the following observations find place:- In fact, most of the officers that are sent by Government from England to India do not know the customs and manners of the Indians. The executive methods till now adopted by them have not been mostly beneficial to the people. Further, those officers considered India only as a place for them to earn and did not appear to be disposed to live for a long time in this country and mix with the people. This is known to every one here. By asking for Home Rule, we

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we do not want to prohibit the Englishmen from coming here as officers. We are also human beings like those Englishmen. We are bound to send memorials to our benign Emperor from time to time to represent to him that it is not equitable for these persons to carry on the Government with an eye to their own interests and without the least sympathy for us.

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557. Why do we ask for Home Rule?

(Dated 13th Febraury 1918, para 85, page 342).

The Desabhaktan, of the 13th Febraury, in its leader on this subject makes the following observations among other:- This question presupposes another, viz., what is the harm in the present administrative policy to remedy which Home Rule is asked for? At present there are two ~~counci~~ counsils--the Legislative Council and the Executive Council-- which are of great service in the administration of this country. The present Legislative Council is only a council by name and has neither adequate rights nor influence. In thi this council, the representatives of the people can have at least their say, but their co-operation is not at all required in the Executive Council. The president of the Legislative Council might disallow the questions of the representative members and even if they are allowed, the ex-officio members ~~and even if they~~ the members nominated by Government, and other Anglo-Indian members might crush them. It is with great difficulty that one out of a hundred resolutions moved by the representative members in this council is passed. Even supposing that a resolution gets through successfully, it has to receive the assent of the

of the Executive Council and the sanction of the Government of India. There are thus several obstacles in the way before it can be carried out in practice. It is to remedy this state of affairs that a responsible Government is asked for wherein the representative members will form the majority so as to safeguard the interests of the people. Every one who closely follow the proceedings of the recent session of the Legislative Council will understand the truth of it and come to the conclusion that we must have a form of Government responsible to the people.

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558. A Home Rule meeting at Tiruchengode.

(Dated 15th Febraury 1918, para 88, page 343).

The Swadesamitran, of the 15th Febraury, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a Home Rule meeting held at Tiruchengode under the presidency of Kollegal Venkataramana Ayyar, when Bhupati Palaniappa Nayakar and Arthanariswara Varma of Salem spoke on the subject:- "Why India wants Home Rule" Wherein the following observations find a place:- Our country is steeped in poverty by paying many more taxes than those levied in other countries. We must have the power of imposing taxes in our hands. If proper irrigation facilities are allowed for the cultivation of the 22½ crores of acres that are at present cultivatedthe wealth of the country will increase. Indian trade and industries will flourish and laws can be enacted to prohibit the import of foreign articles in our country. Village Panchayats can be established as of old, so that justice can be had without much expence by the rich and the poor alike. If the large amount of ~~slavery~~ salary that is now paid to civilians and other English officers, who are ignorant of the language of the country, is stopped, crores of rupees can be saved every year. Compulsory education can be introduced as in other countries, and many other

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advantages can be hand. Asking the Government for these reforms is asking them for Home Rule under the British sovereignty. It is not our intention to drive the English outof India.

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559. The Englishman on the Home Rule.

(Dated 18th Febraury 1918, para 108, page 349).

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 18th Febraury, under the heading Home Rule, writes:- The Englishman of Calcutta has written that India will be ruiend if she should be granted Home Rule that the Anglo-Indian capitalists have intested enormous sums of money in India and as there is no Home Rule in India at present they are contributing to the increase of her wealth in all directions that when Home Rule is granted their independence would be gone and nobody will work for the economic advancement of the country, that the industries will not develop and, as a result the country will be ruined. We cannot sufficiently deplore the ignorance of this editor. Home Rule will bring a full measure of powers to all castes and communities. Every one who pays taxes to the Government will then inquire whether the taxes he pays have been properly expended and thereby lavishness will be prevented and a more judicious ~~expenditure~~ expenditure will result. The autocrats will make themselves scarce and democrats will increase in number. The whole administration will be founded on justice. Those who are opposed to justice Those who are opposed to justice will be wiped out of existence. Justice will reign supreme in all quarters. These are the happy results of Home Rule. That the editor of the Englishman without really understanding these facts denies all those advantages of Home Rule and fears imaginary results shows how those who take up a wrong side deceive themselves. Nothing can surpass the advantage of Home Rule to

and fears imaginary results shows how those who take up a wrong side deceive themselves. Nothing can surpass the advantages of Home Rule to a country. This is an absolute truth. Those who act in opposition to Home Rule will doubtless prove the enemies of their own country.

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559. "Home Rule," and allied Subjects.

(Dated Dhanu,1093 M.E., para 109, page 349).

A correspondent in the Kerala Kesari for Dhanu, refers under the miscellaneous heading "Lokalokam" to the action taken by Government against the Bombay Chronicle and the New Era, and states that the Anglo-Indian papers on the contrary are allowed to write as they please, to arouse rebellion and party strifes among the natives, to defame respectable Indians, to mislead Government by absolutely false statements and by misrepresentation of the aims of undertakings begun by loyal and patriotic Indians, and to cause great agitation among the people of the land, all with perfect impunity. He then proceeds:- "It is in this broad daylight when such partial impolitic and unjust acts, based merely on the colour of the skin and on language and country, and perpetrated, that some black sheep (lit.foxes) among us break their throats shamelessly crying against Home Rule, that, if self-government were granted to us, the Brahmans will persecute and oppress non-Brahmans and will try to push them down and that the non-Brahmans will lose their freedom and become helpless and so on. Why should those people, who are prepared to bear the kicks of foreigners and kiss their boots, to look meekly and submissively on those who become righ by misappropriating the fruits of their labour and remain content and are prepared like asses to spend their lives as 'Drawers of water and hewers of wood'

to foreigners, pretend disgust at their becoming the slaves of Brahmans? Will not the heart of a patriot break at seeing all these things? How could Holy Mother India who has brought forth many heroes have given birth to such mean and base sons? How could we think that these are the results of our own acts? We can only pray for the end of such strife."
He then states that it is high time to inquire into the heartless and secret workings of the C.I.D. and to establish a new C.I.D. to protect the people from the present C.I.D.

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560. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 21st Febraury 1918, para 2, page 359).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 21st Febraury, says:- "The gentleman who delivered a lecture on Home Rule in the Town Hall last week was in error when he said that the Secretary of State, the late Viceroy and a number of English; men were for the granting of Home Rule. We do not say that he deliberately conveyed a wrong impression to the audience, but he should have been sure of his ground before venturing out with statements. We would invite his attention to the last speech Lord Hardings delivered to his Council wherein he plainly said that complete self-government for India was not even a remote possibility.

"Lord Hardinge further said it was impolitic to lay flattering unctions to the soul and that the desire for self-government--not Home Rule--though a legitimate desire was not likely to enter the arena of practical politics for a very long time to come. We have looked up Mr. Montagu's speeches and have nowhere seen him advocating Home Rule for India. Public men and public speakers should be sure of their facts, and there is no use of either disguising or conveniently or unconsciously forgetting them. ..... The enthusiasm of these Home Rulers dates from the days Mrs. Besant

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fell into the clutches of the law, and we are quite sure that they would not have put on war-paint and feathers and entered the war-path had not the old lady been interned. Opponents of Home Rule, too can be honest and love their country equally with the Home Rulers, and our Home Rule friends would do well to meet the party opposition in honest warfare without trying to hit below the belt and questioning the motives of those who have even in troublesome times stood by their country unflinchingly and regardless of consequences."

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561. Mrs.Besant on Deadlocks.

(Dated 28th Febraury 1918, para 4, page 360).

Justice, of the 28th Febraury, observes:- The "leader of Allahabad takes Mrs. Besant to task for having admitted by implication that the recommendation and justification of the Congress-League scheme lie in its being just suited to produce dead-locks'. The Allahabad paper lays down the general rule that 'no sane man can aspire after deadlocks.' According to our contemporary's dictum there is nothing to prevent an erratic woman from aspiring after deadlocks, and in the present case there may be method in her madness. Mrs. Besant long ago confessed that she had no head for details in politics. Closer acquaintance with her political actions not only confirms this admission that she has no head for details in politics but it also becomes evident that she has no head for root principles either. ... Probably the Secretary of State or one of his colleagues on his present political mission has succeeded where the others failed in making Mrs. Besant realise that in the pursuit of the Congress-League scheme there were deadlocks ahead. Once having realised that deadlocks were to be feared, Mrs. Besant must be less of a political adventuress than she is if she did

not welcome deadlocks. ..... Legal heads among Besantine Home Rulers have started their usual work of discovening ingenious points in support of this stupid scheme which theri their xxadx leaders have put forward. One of their suggestions is that under the Congress-League scheme the Government can reserve financial powers absolutely necessary for the conduct of the ordinary work of administration. Yes, we want no 'ghost from hell' to tell us that. .... From whichever point of view the Congress League scheme is looked at, the pxx impossibility of bolstering it up into a workable arrangement becomes palpably manifest. A distinguished member of the Secretary of State's party pointed out to the present writer one notable feature of the Congress-League scheme. He said that the Congress-League scheme was one of the best that could be thought for getting the British out of India in the shortest time and in the quietest manner. That is most probable. Perhaps it was with that object that this scheme was framed. If that is so, a deadlock or two in the way will not frighten the authors of the scheme from attempting to carry it out. But are British statesmen so foolish as to walk into the Indian Home Ruler's parlour? We hope not. .... Home Rulers may once again show a united front in demanding the Congress-League scheme. For our part we are convinced that the more untied and lounder they are in demanding the introduction of such a scheme of political reconstruction, the more convincing will be the evidence that they are unfit for Home Rule or anything like it."

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562. Home Rule and Police Officers.

(Dated 16th Febraury, 1918, para 42, page 374).

Quoting from the Bombay Chronicle an incident in Bihar where the Secretary of a Home Rule League was found fault with by the local District Superintendent of Police for having made certain objectionable statements in a speech said to have been delivered by him and on the former denying having made such statements and questioning the accuracy of the report of the Sub-Inspector, of Police, the Superintendent is said to have warned him and threatened to set secret police to watch his movements, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th Febraury, observes:- The Government also do not hesitate to accept the words of a Police Sub-Inspector, which are deemed to be gospel by the Police authorities. If the words of the people are not trusted, how can they have confidence in the officials? We will reiterate that the people can be expected to have confidence in and love for the authorities only if the latter exhibit the same kind of feeling towards the former.

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563. The cry of Home Rule.

(Dated 19th Febraury 1918, para 48, page 376).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 19th Febraury, makes the following observations under this heading:- The true loyalist is he who, without any fear or favour, criticises, the Government for their mistakes. He is a traitor who echoes every opinion expressed by the officials and refrains from condemning the flaws of the Government.

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As man is more intelligent than the dog, he will not refuse Home Rule. If the Governor of Madras should say to-morrow that he would be pleased if Home Rule is demanded, the slaves of Southern India will immediately join the Home Rule camp.

Liars, who are not sincerely loyal are often posing to be loyalists. As the Home Rulers are honest men, there is no necessity for them to speak of loyalty.

As the Home Rulers have secured the favour of the goddess Sakti, fear can never approach them.

564, Home Rule and heads of mutts.

(Dated 19th Febraury 1918, para 64, page 383).

Inviting the attention of Government to the statement said to have been made by Sri Sankara Acharya at a Home Rule meeting recently held at Allahabad, that, for the promotion of peace in India, the administration of the country should be carried on by the majority of the Indians, the Desabhaktan of the 19th Febraury, makes the following observations among others:- The country which has not ob-obtained Home Rule will suffer from inability to carry on her affairs freely. Almost all the countries are enjoying the pleasure of Home Rule. It is only our country that is without this pleasure. Even small countries like Transvaal and the Phillippines have got freedom on a firm basis. What is the reason for India becoming a prey to poverty, pesti-lence and death, even though she is ruled by the best of Governments--the British? Want the Home Rule is, indeed, the reason. It is the Indians that should enjoy the wealth of India. It is the that should spend it. So long as the money of India is in the hands of others and is spent by them, ~~the~~

the poverty of India will not vanish. Knowing this fully well, our people are striving for Home Rule.

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565. Home Rule and the authorities.

(Dated 18th Febraury,1918, para 68, page 385).

The Narada of the 18th Febraury, observes under this heading as follows:- We have for the past some months been asking for self-government on the model of British Government of the Colonies under the British Empire and for a treatment to be accorded to us in our country similar to the treatment given to a foreigner in his own country. After the one hundred and fifty years of irresponsible bureaucratic rule in India, more than twenty out of the thirty crores of the people of this country are illiterate. Our average income is Rs.30 per annum. This is a big xxxxxxx figure indeed! Over four crores of people have one meal a day or nothing at all. We, from the poorest to the richest are paying different kinds of taxes for purposes of administration and for enabling these bureaucrats, who this afford us all the required facilities, to draw big salaries the like of which is not paid to officers in any country in the world. Though we are under the British rule, which has liberty and justice as its guiding principles, we are ever liable to come under the operation of the Defence of India Act, which can at any time deprive us of the natural freedom of person and freedom of speech and of our property. In spite of our efforts for the last several years to remedy this situation, we have not been successful. We see that the acts of these bureaucrats are treated as final and cannot be modified or reversed by the higher authorities. Whilst in all civilised countries, the guiding principle of administration is to embrace the views of the people and to protect them, in our country alone repression is practically the principle

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adopted by the bureauctats. As a result of our ~~ei~~ reiterating all these facts, His Majesty the King Emperor and the Prime Minister were pleased to express their willingness to introduce in India a form of Government responsible to the people. They have since sent the Secretary of State to ascertain our views, in this matter. But even the Secretary of State, who came here with a feeling of sympathy for the Indiians and with the idea of discharging his duty to them, viz., that of granting them the privileges due to them as a birthright, loss his freedom of speech and writing as soon as he landed in this country. This is an unmistakable sign of the power and strength of the bureaucracy. In spite of the announcement by the Government of their views regarding the grant of ~~e~~ responsible Government to India and the arrival of the Secretary of State here, the authorities have not given up threatening those who write or speak about Home Rule. No day passes without the Defence of India Act being brought into operation somewhere. Not a single resolution of the popular representatives passes in the Legislative councils. The attitude of the bureaucrats in the matter of India getting Home Rule is apparent from these facts. Can India remain any longer under the absolute rule of these authorities? We pray most humbly that His Majesty the King Emperor, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State will be graciously pleased to ponder over this and do us justice.

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566. Home Rule.

(Dated 18th Febraury 1918, para 70, page 386).

Speaking of the necessity of sending hundreds of well-informed men at this time to England to lecture to the British public on the real condition of this country in order to enlist their sympathy and exhorting the people to cut short their expenditure on unnecessary items and remit the saving thus effected to Mrs. Besant, a correspondent to the Naradan, of the 18th Febraury, observes:- Lord Sydenham who is as it were the embodiment of the deeds of our former births and many other gentleman who have been benefited by India's money in several ways and who have eaten or are still eating of the salt of India and are injuring us, are lecturing against our getting Home Rule and are trying to dissuade the labour party from taking any interest in our cause. Though His Majesty the Emperor is one who would rule the Empire embracing the views of the subjects and always having their interest at heart, yet there are the subordinate officers, the western merchants and the non-Brahman anti-Home Rulers who are working against our aspirations being fulfilled. Still if all of us unanimously strive for our cause with enthusiasm and perseverance, we will never be disappointed. We are sure to get Home Rule by ~~these~~ all means. Wake Up! Hoard up your money. Make the persons who can well advocate cause go to England, and become happy.

The Kistnapatrika, of the 23rd Febraury, writes:- The India writes that a Home Rule League has been established at New York with Mr. Lajpatroy as the President. This is auspicious. It is said that not only Indian exiles but also Americans are joining it. What is there strange in the new world, which is aglow with the fire of independence, extending a helping hand to Home Rule for India? .....America is

fighting by the side of England for the freedom of the world. It is not only proper on the part of the Americans but it is also their duty to advise the British in the interests of India. After waiting long they have joined the war only to secure independence to all races. It is well known that America is exerting pressure on England on behalf of Ireland. When the labour party in England has been unanimously agreed about the granting of self-government to India, would not the Americans do the same and win the gratitude of the people of this ancient land? Lajpatroy is the gem of a son of mother
eldest. Which Indian is not indebted to him for his self-sacrifice, devotion
India and the/duty, patriotism and unflinching moral courage?
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....America that has given him shelter is alive to her obligations to India. She sat at the feet of Gurus such as Pratabchunder-Mujumdar, Vivekananda, Bepin Chandra Pal, Ramatirtha, Abhedananda and Baba-Bharati. She drank deep of the nectar of Rabindranoth's poetyy. ... She was the first to appreciate the discoveries of J.C.Bose. Will she fail now to help Indians in their endeavours to establish their rights?

Under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 26th Fberaury, writes:- The British Government says that India would be granted responsible Government, which means Home Rule. The Government should be responsible to the tax-payer and should show that the revenue collected has been legitimately expended. The representatives of the people should decide what expenditure is legitimate and what is not. To have this, a parliament [composed of popular representatives should be inaugurated and this Parliament] should have the power to sanction the budget after scrutinising it. This is what is meant by Home Rule and it might be inferred that the Government have agreed to grant this type of Home Rule. The time when this would be given effect to, the manner in which responsible Government, that is, Home Rule would be granted and the manner in which and the time when the Home Rule parliament would be instituted, all these facts should be announced by proclamation by the British

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British suzerain power; and if arrangements are made ~~to have this proclamation by the~~ to have this proclamation read ø to the people by leading officials in every town and village, the people will begin to feel that the interests of England are identical with those of India. The recognition of this identity of interests will herald the advent of fresh glory to the Empire. We trust that proper steps will be taken before long in regard to this matter.

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567. <u>Is the present rule in India Home Rule</u>?

(Dated 22nd Febraury 1918, para 88, page 392).

Referring to the statement said to have been made by the Commissioner Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army that India is already enjoying Home Rule, the Desabhaktan, of the 22nd Febraury, asks its readers to ponder over whether the present rule in India is Home Rule and observes that Commissioner Booth Tucker is one of those who convey wrong impressions about India to the people of England and suggests whether his words might not have been due to a fear that such large grants as are now given to this salvation army may not be available if India obtains a Government responsible to the people.

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568. **Mrs. Besant's answer.**

(Dated 5th March 1918, para 111, page 446).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 5th March, referring to the reply given by Mrs. Besant as regards the Congress deputation, observes that it is unsatisfactory and adds:- ... The Indo-British League has already stirred up, and Doctor Nayar is ready to support it in opposing the grant of self-government. If, under such circumstances, the Congress deputation which wields influence, does not start immediately evil consequences may ensue. Mr. Baptista has already finished the preliminaries which the Home Rule deputations had to attend to. It is, therefore, prejudicial to the interests of the country to detain the Congress deputation.

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569. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 4th March 1918, para 116, page 447).

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 4th March, writes:- Our Viceroy favours the proposal to grant responsible Government to the people of India and His Excellency is of opinion that the benefits of such reform should extend to all classes. This heralds the advent of Home Rule and the glorious future that will eventually result from it. Responsible Government means a Government which ensures a just administration, or, in other words, Home Rule; which, in turn, means that which confers on the tax-payers the power to decide how the revenue shall be expended for their own benefit. The grant of Home Rule will lead the Indians to identify the interest of the Empire with their own; and this identity of interests will make it easy to vanquish the enemies of this Empire in no time. With three months' training, India would be able to supply six crores of soldiers and Germany will at once see that there is no use in continuing the war and will consent to make peace. It is surprising that this has not occurred to the British authorities.

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570. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 5th March 1918, para 57, page 471).

Referring to a statement said to have been made by a member of the European Chamber of Commerce at its last annual meeting that the cry for Home Rule for India was a cry in the wilderness and that it would take a very longtime in coming, the Prapanchamitran, of the 5th March says:- The point is not that the Englishmen should grant Home Rule but that the Indians should acquire it. Whatever may be the number of persons who obstruct it, the Indians are sure to acquire Home Rule, and they do not intend to wait many years for it. It will ~~be a beat~~ best fifteen years. So, it may not take a very long time indeed for these merchants to learn a lesson.

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571. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 7th March 1918, para 58, page 472).

The Desabhaktan, of the 7th March makes the following observations in its leader:- Very few in our country have a hearty meal for the day. It is our great duty to try to free ourselves from such restraints as hinder our pleasure as far as our body is concerned. It is for this reason that we ask for liberty and Home Rule. There is very little of freedom in our country. We can neither talk nor write as we think. Even the reasonable remarks that we make are construed as unreasonable. Our ideas are twisted in different ways. The Press Act binds our liberty. Though we are ruled by England, which is an embodiment of liberty, we do not enjoy freedom. Under the present administration it is not possible for our people to enjoy the pleasure of liberty. We are always in fear and in a state of trepidation.

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572. Will India have Home Rule?

(Dated 8th March 1918, para 63, page 473).

The Naradan, of the 8th March writes:- Some among us ~~are~~ doubt whether India will have Home Rule. Is this due to their fear about a few narrow-minded Anglo-Indians and some people, who are puppets in their hands, spoiling the country by means of speeches and writings? These will surely be defeated in their object, as they have been in their attempts during the past year, and they will be detested by true Englishmen, who appreciate liberty, and by true sons of Mother Bharata. There is again the fact that the Labour Party in England is in our favour. So we will have Home Rule, and, if it is true that the British are now engaged in the war only for the sake of maintaining liberty, justice and the peace of the world, we are sure to have it.

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573. The Home Rule League deputation.

(Dated 8th March 1918, para 68, page 475).

Observing that the Home Rule League Deputation from this Presidency is to leave Bombay on the 10th March 1818, the Hindu Nesan, of the 8th March, remarks:- The Anglo-Indians, who are the enemies to Indian reforms, should note the expedition with which this deputation leaves India. These people, who generally mock at the Indians and compare their demand for Home Rule as a cry in the wilderness, should note the enthusiasm of the Indians in this matter. The members of this deputation will render useless the activities of Lord sydenham and his party in England. As, however, this deputation is not sufficiently strong in number, the Congress League deputation should also proceed to England soon.

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574. The European Association and Home Rule.

(Dated 19th March 1918, para 3, page 493).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 19th March, has the following:- "Mounted on the prancing steed, "European interest' and attended by his squire, the 'conservative Indian,' the modern Don Quixote of First Line Beach is now touring Bengal redressing the wrongs of the old ladies of Anglo-India. The European Association of Calcutta, inspired by Mr. Welby has passed a resolution protesting against the grant of responsible Government. We are reminded of the exploits in this connexion of the old lady who tried to roll back the advancing tide of the Atlantic with a mop! It is refreshing, however, to note that this European Association has been boycotted by better class Europeans whose "English instincts' have not vanished under the tropical sun.".

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575. A Home Rule deputation to England.

(Dated 13th March 1918, para 41, page 505).

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 13th March has a leader on the marginally noted subject whih the following is an excerpt. The other day a Home Rule deputation in which there were two Brahmans and one Indian Christian left for England. It is said that Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu and a Hindu from Calcutta and Poona respectively, will also join it, and that Mussalman gentleman Mr. Saiyid Hussain is proceeding from Bombay. We are astounded as to who has assured those persons that they are the representatives and ambassadors of the country or the nation, and which party, ancient or modern, has nominated them. These people are self-styled leaders on reaching England they wish to claim to be the representatives of thirty millions of Indians. Can any sane person approve this claim?

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576. Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule Movement.

(Dated 16th March 1918, para 104, page 523).

In a leading article extolling Mrs. Besant's work in connexion with the Home Rule movement, the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 16th March writes:- It is rumoured that Doctor Nayar and some others are going to England with the object of urging that India ought not to be granted Home Rule, lest the Brahmans should become predominent. Both parties will have their say in England; and in case Home Rule is granted, a special Congress will be held to discuss the details of the scheme to be submitted to the Secretary of State. The main object of Home Rule is no other than to ensure that the taxes paid by the people are being spent for their own advancement. Even the most stupid can understand how reasonable this attempt is. Who can fail to be surprised therefore when it is seen that there are people who audaciously call themselves patriots and yet oppose Home Rule and incur the hatred of the masses? It is to be hoped that Mrs. Besant's invaluable efforts in support of the cause will be crowned with success despite all the difficulties, and lead to her being regarded as an incarnate being.

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577. The Home Rule deputation to England.

(Dated 19th March 1918, para 24, page 537).

Referring to this deputation, the Prapanchamitran, of the 19th March observes:-

This is an embassy we send to the Englishmen. Many persons ask whether any good will come out of it. If thirty-two crores of people unitedly ask for a thing, will it be possible for the Englishmen to deny the same? No. So we should not remain quiet in India, but should raise the cry of Home Rule everywhere. We should give up purchasing foreign goods and speak boldly.

The Desabhaktan, of the 20th March quotes Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal to have stated at a meeting at Calcutta that he was not going to England to beg for reforms but to impress on the British Government the necessity of granting Home Rule to India in the interests of both India and England, and says:-

England is as much obliged to India as the latter is to the former. Having learnt during her subjection to the English rule for the last 150 years what is meant by liberty India is now demanding that liberty to be granted to her. She has a right to demand it and England is bound to grant it.

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578. The Home Rule deputation to England.

(Dated 1st April 1918, para 9, page 554).

Justice, of the 1st April, writing on the Home Rule deputation to England, says:- "The British Empire is fighting for a just and noble cause, the cause of human freedom, of peace and righteousness on earth. The British people must therefore see that in the false name of freedom and liberty and so forth they do not hand over the vast and ignorant millions of India, tied hand and foot, to the most insidious, the most artful, the most cunning, and the most relentless class which ever been known in the history of mankind. ---

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579. The object of the Home Rule deputation.

(Dated 23rd & 25th March '18, para 63, page 568).

The Desabhaktan, of the 23rd and 25th March publish a free Tamil rendering of a speech said to have been delivered by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal at Calcutta on the occasion of a send-off given to him and the other members of the Home Rule deputation, in which the following observations find a place:- I am not going to England to beg for reforms. I do not want any favour. What I am carrying is not a beggar's bowl but a red flag indicating danger, -- danger to my fellow subjects and to the country over which the British are proudly ruling. This is the object of the present deputation. ... Addressing the British public, I will say this:- 'It is not the character of the Indians to push down one, instead of helping one, in times of distress. We have forgotten the cruelties you committed during the last 150 years. We have forgotten your denying to us liberty which is our birth-right, your suspecting us, your turning a deaf ear to our representations, the Press Act and the Seditious Meeting Act, the transportation of our leaders and all other indignities. We have done all this because we see that you are in distress. .... If you want to save your Empire, gather the men you require from India. For this you should remove the feeling of discontent in the mind of the people here and the only way of doing it is the granting of Home Rule to India. ... I warn you beforehand that, if India should continue in her present condition, there will be danger to the Empire.'

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580. **Mr.Tilak on Home Rule.**

(Dated 29th March 1918, para 64, page 569).

The Swadesamitran, of the 29th March reproduces in Tamil the substance of the different speeches said to have been delivered by Mr. Tilak at Bombay, in which the following observations occur among others:-

(1) Speech as President of the Home Rule League Conference:- If the final reform proposals do not come up to our expectations on account of the British bureaucracy in India obstructing the grant of any reforms to us, we know what we should do then. It is we that should determine the form of Government in our country. Even our agricultural labourers have understood now that the aim of the British rule is to grant responsible government to India. Our people have now realised that the officials and civilians are our servants. .... We should not allow the Secretary of State for India to return to England with the idea that the Indians can be easily managed. .... The time of repression is gone. Indians should no longer be afraid. Do not ~~thik~~ think it will take a very long time to acquire Home Rule. That time is fast approaching. It is this confidence that is essential now.

(2) Reply to the farewell address presented by the people of Bombay:- I have not much faith in the reform proposals of Mr. Montagu. The question is whether our people should keep quiet if these proposals are not as good as we expect. You should accept nothing less than the reforms embodies in the Congress-League scheme. No compromise should be thought of. The bureaucrats will try their best to bring about a compromise and to create a schism among us. If you yield to it, woe unto the country.

(3)Reply to the address presented by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bombay:- The whole country is at one in demanding Home Rule But some, who have tasted the exclusive enjoyment of privileges, are against Home Rule for fear that it may prejudice their interests. Nevertheless, if you do not slacken your efforts and keep up your activity, it will yield good results, until our ideal is reached, we should not give up our agitation in India. The British should understand from our agitation that we would not be satisfied, if our prayer is not granted completely.

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581. The deputation to England.

(Dated 1st April 1918, para 96, page 578).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 1st April says:- The Home Rule deputation is not going to England for the benefit only of India. The members of the deputation have clearly explained their object. Their principal object is to protect the British empire. As stated by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, the stability of the Empire is in the hands of the Indians. Only India can help to defend the British Empire and contribute to its prosperity. Ten years ago, to demand self-government was considered sedition. But today the Government have declared it to be the goal of their policy. .... Russia has withdrawn from the ~~world~~ war and a new danger faces the English Empire. The Germans are endeavouring to make their way to the East. Only Japan is now ~~ex~~ unexhausted among the Allies. Messrs. Tilak and Pal question the advisability of the British depending upon the promise of Japan and giving up self-endeavour. In the whole of the Empire, only India can supply inexhuastible man-power. An Indian army has not yet been formed commensurate with the population of India. It is not far sighted to slight the Empire and rely on a foreign

country. History bears testimony to the uncertainty of the alliances of nations. So it is dangerous to place faith in foreign nations giving up self-endeavour. The man-power of India cannot but be used now. The necessity thereof is being felt every day. Enthusiasm should be inspired into the Indians in order to induce them to go to the front. This enthusiasm should be a hearty one, and it will not prevail unless the Indians learn to love their native country and the Empire. The grant of the rights of citizenship to the Indians will enable them to love the Empire profoundly. The safety of the Empire requires that self-government should be granted to India. The deputation will carry this message to the people in England. There is nothing uncertain about the message. Messrs. Tilak and Pal are not going to England to beg for concessions. England can easily understand the message of Mr. Tilak. The conditions of the country before the war did not help to bring home to the minds of the English the truth of the words of the nationalists. But the war has awakened them. India does not want to sever her connexion with the British Empire. If she severs her connexion with the Empire, she will ruin herself India will not do it. Her aim is to be a partner of the Empire, and being a partner, she will never agree to be a dependent. The cry of Swaraj should always go on resounding and only when that cry is re-echoed in England, will the endeavours of the deputations be crowned with success.

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582. Home Rule.

(Dated 28th March 1918, para 103, page 579).

Under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 28th March, writes:- No wonder the Anglo-Indians are sorry that India will be granted Home Rule. This will put an end to their autocratic powers. They are therefore perfectly right in feeling sorry for it and trying to create racial and religious animosities. Even though they be Home Rulers themselves their denial of Home Rule to India, our of greed for authority, cannot be considered as any great wrong after all. We are, however, surprised to see that even some of our Indians the very people who will be directly benefited by Home Rule, are opposed to it. Home Rule means nothing more than the establishment of representative body, such as the Parliament, to see that the taxes that the people pay are expended economically and for their own benefit. This is advantageous to the people and certain not the officials of Government, whose powers it rather tends to curtail. If the taxes collected by Government are spent economically, the burden of taxation is bound to be reduced. That some of our people should not understand this fact and, becoming a mere cat's paw in the hands of our enemies, oppose the grant of Home Rule under the impression that it is the Government officials that would be benefited thereby is indeed sad and shows how very apt are the words of Sri Sankarac- Sankaracharya who said that there is no salvation to the ignorant.

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583. Mrs. Besant's misrepresentation.

(Dated 27th March 1918, para 117, page 582).

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 27th March, writes:- Mrs. Besant is misrepresenting matters to the public by saying that the number of Indians in the public service is very limited, and therefore Home Rule is necessary to adjust the disparity.

It is estimated that it has taken hundred and fifty years of English education to ~~qualify~~ qualify for this demand for Home Rule.

A very long time is still required to satisfy the condition of self-government, and it is not known how long this handful of Home Rulers is likely to take to gain this necessary administrative qualifications for the actual thing itself.

After commenting on the subject at length, the editor asks Mussalmans to safeguard their rights, and to demand an equal share in the future administration of India. They should bear in mind that in the absence of English authority their position would be -- well, the less said the better.

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584. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak.**

(Dated 4th April 1918, para 4, page 587).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 4th April States:- "Mr. Tilak is alleged to have said that he would tell the English people, that, unless India was given Home Rule there would be serious trouble, they would lose India. We only hope that Mr. Tilak is not correctly reported and that the statement attributed to him is but the work of some maliciousl disposed person. Such language is mere rot, and in the mouth of a leader stinks horribly. If Mr. Tilak is, on the other hand, correctly reported, we have to express our deep regret that he should have chosen the present time to indulge in such wild language."

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585. **The Home Rule deputation to England.**

(Dated 6th April 1918, para 6, page 588).

In commenting on the cancellation of the passports of the members of the Home Rule deputation proceeding to England New India, of the 6th April writes:- The position is a curious one. The Viceroy approved of deputations going to England, and promised to facilitate them. Indian s took him at his word, and on March 10th and 17th the deputation from the All-India Home Rule League said on P.&O.Steamers from Bombay. Letters have been received from the members on each steamer, so we know that they have passed Aden. As passports are sent up to the Government of India before they are granted we know that the Viceroy has kept his word, and has facilitate the departure. Had he intended to stop the deputation, he would certainly have refused the passports. .... On the faith of the Viceroy's promise, large sums of money have been collected, tickets have been bought, and the supply of

money in England ensured. We are convinced that there has been no breach of faith on the Viceroy's part, and that he will do all he can, to induce the English Government, by whom the cancelment has been ordered, to reconsider its mischievous decision. Lord Sydenham and his crowd all are ~~allow~~ allowed to carry on their scandalous propaganda of lies and half-truths, blackening Indians and shamelessly traducing them. Are Indians to be stopped, when they go to fact this broadcast spreading of lies? No policy could be more provocative of resentment then to allow the attacks and to shut out the defence.

// para. Moreover this policy will destroy the good results of the visit of Mr. Montagu. All his long labour will be ruined, and popular anger will ~~xx~~ be aroused. In addition it must be remembered that Mr. Tilak was going to England for his libel suit, and did not intend to speak in public until that was over, since he could not speak on politics while it was before the court, his political work, being the subject of the suit. We hope that the British Government will reverse its ill-judged action. If it does not, we shall have to take serious counsel together as to the policy to be adopted under circumstances so extraordinary and so unexpected.

Writing on this subject the Karnataka, of the 6th April observes:- "New India of yesterday says:- "A telegram received at 4-30 p.m. says that Lok. Tilak and party are prohibited from proceeding to England under orders from the British Government and are at Colombo now.'

"If the above should come true, it would cause feelings of deep and bitter disappointment throughout the country. Nothing worse than that could possibly happen at the present time to the cause of mutual confidence and sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. .... Their melodramatic prohibition of his journey is sure to aggravate the seriousness of the

situation in the country; and it is to be earnestly hoped that Government would yet find it possible to take a fair and dispassionate view of the matter and the allow Mr. Tilak to proceed. Their objection could not be for any reasons connected with the war; for in that case, they could not have granted the passports, and the other Home Rule deputation from Madras could not have proceeded as now it has done."

Justice, of the 8th April, states:- Our readers know by this time that the Home Rule deputation headed by Mr. Tilak was stopped from embarking at Colombo, by order of the Home Government, transmitted through the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon. ..... This is another instance of clumsy bungling for which the Government are fast becoming famous. ... It would have been reasonable if the Government are had published its order of prohibition as soon as the Home Rulers had announced their intention of sending a deputation. To permit them to make all the preparations and to get through their demonstration and shouting and then at the last moment to stop the deputation is undoubtedly more the atrical than reasonable. If the deputation was at all to be stopped by any means or at any time we dare say that Mrs. Besant herself would have selected the method and time which the Government have themselves chosen, for these lend themselves as satisfactory causes for protest meetings. .... Having come to the conclusion that it is advisable to prevent any deputation going to England at this time, the Government ought to adhere to that decision and remain firm. Wobbling about is an undignified proceeding, particularly in a Government. If Government are going to be afraid of any threats about protest meetings and agitations, then they deserve all they get."

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Justice of the 11th April remarks:- "We must confess our inability to make out how the Tilak deputation stands today. Amidst the mass of telegrams and the clash of authority, Home, Indian and Colonial, amidst protests from the right, from the left and from the front, it is difficult to make out how Mr. Tilak's deputation now stands or in which direction it is to move. .... The whole incident was the result of the ignorance of the Home Authorities as to how valuable valuable the Indian Home Rulers ~~xxx~~ are as partners in the creation of calm political atmospheres. Who knows that before long Mr. Lloyd George may not take Mr. Tilak into parnership and create a calm political atmosphere in England in the same way as the Chelmsford -- Besant partnership created the calm political atmosphere in India which we find very soothing."

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586. <u>The sophistries of the Home Rulers</u>.

(Dated 10th April 1918, para 11, page 591).

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In a leader on this subject, Justice, of the 10th April, says:- "A Northern India contemporary has discovered what it considers to be some fallacies in the speech delivered by Doctor Nayar at Tanjore. It assumes that Doctor Nayar is opposed to constitutional depelopment in India, while as a matter of fact that gentleman is only opposed to catastrophic changed in the constitution of the Government of this country, and if he is averse to any to any change which would transfer power from the Government as at present constituted to the hands of the so-called political leaders in India, it was the result of the discovery that these Indian political leaders could any day be flattered or threatened into submission by any foreign political ~~dy~~ adventurer. ...

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We are told that since the war commenced Indians have caught a new glimpse of freedom and are pressing for the realization of the same. We do not think the statement, as a generally applied to Indians, is correct. A microscopical minority headed by Mrs Besant and Mr. B.G.Tilak perhaps thought that this was the proper time for pressing for the realization of the new glimpse of freedom which they had seen or somebody else had shown to them. ... The Home Ruler's sophistries about the educated Indians rallying to the cause of the Empire in her great crisis unfortunately will not stand the test of events that are taking place in other parts of India. One Home Ruler in Madras says that if India gets Home Rule, ten million Indian soldiers could be had for fighting the battles of the Empire; another Madrassi Home Ruler says that any amount of money would be forthcoming to help in the war if India's demands are concealed. We do not consider that this is rallying to the help of the Empire in the greatest crisis of its existence. This is the method of the Burglar who pointes a loaded revolver at you and asks for your money or your life. .... To ask for reforms and make it a condition of help in the present war is the method of the burglar. Fortunately we know that in the present instance the burglar's revolver is unloaded. These men who talk big can neither produce the men nor the money which they pretend they can. .... The Home Rulers' bunkum about the soul of England being touched by the higher ideas at this period is quite amusing. It reminds us of what Sir Ali Baba said about the soul of the Bengalee Babu. Sir Ali Baba says:- 'I met the Bengalee Babu. It was returning from Office. I asked if it had a soul. It replied that it had not but some day it hoped to pass the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University." We dare say that on account of

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the 'impact of new forces' produced by the war the Bengalee Babu's angle of vision has changed, and today it might say that instead of hoping to pass the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University it hoped to obtain Home Rule on the 1st of January 1923. The Indian Home Ruler may dream about the year 1923 or 1928 and what it has in store for him. But if he tries his new game of twisting the tail of the British lion he may have a Home Maul instead of Home Rule."

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587. XXXX The Home Rule deputation.

(Dated 5th April 1918, para 26, page 596).

Referring to the fact that telegrams despatched to Colombo by Mr. Tilak's deputation did not reach the parties concerned, the Naradan, of the 5th April, says:- Who is responsible for this mean act? Is it the censor of the or the authorities in Ceylon or these here? Whoever it may be, it is doubtless a most undignified act. Perhaps these officials thought that by stopping the telegrams they could cause petty difficulties to our patriots!

The Swadesamitran, of the 6th April, refers to the news received that the passports of Mr. Tilak, and others has been cancelled under the orders of the Home Government and writes:- It is really strange that while this news was available to an Anglo-Indian peper, which shares the full powers of the bureaucracy yesterday morning alone enabling it to express its cruel satisfaction at the event if was not communicated to the Indian newspapers, for whom it was intended, till yesterday evening. Leaving this alone, we cannot consider the present condition of the war to be the only cause of the British Government having prevented Mr. Tilak from proceeding to England. There is no reason again

even to dream that his presence in England would cause the least impediment to the military operations. It has been publicly announced that he intended to make suggestions to England for utilizing the help of India to the fullest extent, it this critical condition of the war. Therefore there are several reasons to believe that it is the new Anglo-Indian Association which is bent upon preventing India from acquiring privileges tending to Home Rule and a section of the bureaucrats in England who help the members of this association, that should have by the use of their influence, and the secret ways open to them, influenced the Home Secretary, in the absence of the Secretary of State for India, to issue this order.

The Desabhaktan, of the 6th April, refers to the conduct of the British Government in this matter as a detestable one, and observes that the news will cause pain throughout India.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 6th April remarks that if the authorities had thought that it was inadvisable for the deputation to proceed to England at this juncture, they could have negatived the proposal of sending a deputation even when it was made, and that it is unwise on their part to try to prevent it now after all the trouble and expense that it has entailed.

The Naradan of the 6th April, also expresses its surprise and regret at the action of the British Government and scenting some mischief in this matter, says that the authorities are not justified in preventing Mr. Tilak and his friends to proceed to England unless the plying of steamers from India to England by any route is stopped altogether.

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The Desamata, of the 3rd April, says under this heading:- Excepting very few all the Indians are favourably disposed towards the home rule deputation. The few who are opposed to it are either influenced by self-inter st or by a desire to be honoured with Government titles, or they should be ignorant of the present political situation.

In its leading article under this heading the Mysore Star, of the 7th April, writes:- This is the third of the deputations that goes to England on behalf of the Indian Home Rule League. Since the All-India Standing Committee of the National Congress which has been working for the political uplift of India for the last 35 years, has decided to abandon for the present the idea of sending a deputation to England, the deputations that now go cannot with propriety be said to represent either the Indian National Congress or the people of India. All the men forming these deputations belong to the Home Rule League and are known from the beginning to be extremists and for this reason had been kept out of the Congress for some time. As the people incited by them began to dance to their tune in ever increasing numbers, the language employed by these people is growing more and more virulent. They now speak of the Government of India as if it were a mere straw. The paper then quotes few extracts from the speeches delivered by Tilak and Pal and proceeds. These piognant words of the extremists characterized by such licence, severity and ingratitude and spoken with the full knowledge that the British are at present in the throes of a great war can never be said to be worthy of the honour, sense of gratitude and good name of India. The Congress authorities were right in not sending these irresponsible talltalkers as their representatives. The Secretary of State has not yet left India and until he places his views before the

Cabinet in England, the Home Rule authorities are not likely to come to any decision. That the British Empire which has firmly established peace in the land and has been protecting it for over a hundred years should be coerced or frightened at a time when it is beset with unprecedented troubles, is indeed a slur on India. These Home Rulers boast thatthe 33 crores of Indians are under their control and that if only Home Rule be granted to India they would create a large army here and protect the British Empire from the enemy. Before this they used to complain that the Indians were not being given higher appointments in the army and not allowed to volunteer like the Anglo-Indians and that if only those boons were granted an inexhaustible supply of men could be got from India. Both these concessions have now been granted but the result is disappointing. With all efforts it has not been found possible to enlist even five or six thousand men in a year. Now they ask for Home Rule. Should that be granted possibly they will enforce compulsory military service on the uneducated people here and send them on to the front. Thus both England and India have each to face a crisis of their own. God alone knows what is in store for us!

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588. Tilak and Home Rule.

(Dated 4th April 1918, para 33, page 600).

In the course of a leader under this heading theDesabhaktan, of the 4th April refers to the statement of Mr. Tilak, that if till now he demanded Home Rule for Indiain the interests of the latter, he demanded it now in the ~~inter-~~ interests of Britain and observes:- The present lofty ~~posi-~~ position and wealth of Britain are due to India and it will not be an exaggeration to say that India is the most vital part of the British Empire. Such a country was treated by the Englishmen as a foreign country and they afflicted it ~~xy~~ by many cruel laws. These cruelties are only increasing. Tender youths are being suspected and interned and the Government are causing discontent among the people. If the British had treated the Indians like their other subjects and granted them liberty, without suspecting and afflicting them, would this war have lasted so long? The authorities still suspect India unnecessarily and proscribe papers which write with the best of intentions. No good can surely result from their teasing the Indians in this time of war, relying on the words of the petty officials.

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589. Mr.Tilak's mission.

(Dated 3rd April 1918, para 46, page 604).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd April says:- The Germans intend to extend their despotism to Asia also India must be made efficient to arrest their military aggression. There is no use depending on Japan. Mr. Tilak is proceeding to England in order to ~~rpoclaim~~ proclaim this truth and make the Empire invincible. .... The Mail says that the advance of the Germans into Asia can only be arrested by rejuvenating Russia. But Mr.Tilak goes to England with the mission of that

the German advance can only be ~~add~~ arrested by the regeneration of India.

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590. The stopping of Mr. Tilak's voyage to England.

(Da ted 6th April 1918, para 54, page 607).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th April says:- Not only the leaders of the people but the whole of India were pleased to hear the utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council in regard to the proposed Congress deputation to England. When it was given out that Mr. Tilak, the chief of the Indians, was going to England a thrill of joy went through the whole country and funds poured in abundantly. Even the people of Berar, who are backward in political progress, manifested their enthusiasm. But the news of the stoppage of his voyage came in as a thunderbolt. ~~the~~ The people of Madras have been everywhere giving vent last evening to their disappointment and resentment. ... It is to be regretted that the authorities are committing one thoughtless act after another. We supposed that the release of Mrs. Besant marked the beginning of the prevelance of a calm atmosphere in the country and the end of the short-sighted policy of the Government. But we have been disappointed His Excellency the Viceroy encouraged the proposed deputation by his words in the Council. He gave passports and afforded other facilities. .... The second batch going to England have at Colombo been directed not to set said for England. Nothing can be stranger than this. The Indian Government might not be responsible for this. The British Government might themselves have insisted on their not going to England. But the people have little to do with this detail. They

are concerned only with the result. It will be well for Lord Chelmsford to keep his word and to see, communicating to the British Government the agitation that their order has caused in India, that the deputation is permitted to proceed to England. .... Even the Madras Mail could not commend the order of the Government and the Madras Times also criticised the order. When such is the view of the Anglo-Indians, it can be srumised how great is the resentment of the Indians. .... England will not sustain any loss by allowing the deputation to go there. Mr. Tilak is going there with the object of helping England in the defence of the Empire. .... India is an inexhaustible mine of man-power. Mr. Tilak proceeds to England to tell the people there that only India can help them to carry on the war to a successful issue, and that to get man-power from India, she should be given self-government and her people thereby inspired with military enthusiasm. His mission is no obstacle to the prosecution of the war but a help to carry it through. The endeavours of the leaders have all proved vain. Such failures only give new force to the national awakening. If people are determined, their aims will surely be fulfilled. .... After the above was in type a message has been received which was a reply of His Excellency the Viceroy to the appeal made to him. From this it will be plain that His Excellency the Viceroy is favourably disposed to the deputation going to England, and that he intends to give it the help that lies in his power. But his help has not been of use. We trust that the British Government will hereafter at least follow a proper policy.

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591. **The Anglo-Indian opposition to Home Rule.**

(Dated 6th April 1918, para 56, page 608).

The Kistnapatrika, of the 6th April says under this heading:- The Anglo-Indians who came from their native land to our country are out of their element. The British are the talented persons who have opposed arbitrary authority and established freedom. They are the holy-hearted persons who have praised the patriotism of Hampden who underwent imprisonment for violating an unjust order of the King. The British are persons who, being devoted to justice, defeated and beheaded Charles, who trampled over human rights adopted a disgraceful policy and dishonoured the leaders of the people. They being devoted to duty, suffered imprisonment, fought with the Lords without caring even for life and maintained the rights of the people. They are the great heroes who in the present war have espoused the cause of justice and have unsheathed their sword against Germany and Austria who have broken international law and violated the freedom of Belgium. They liberally praised the Russians who established self-government after dethroning the Czar, who obstructed the establishment of democracy and exiled or transported educated persons who demanded political freedom. They are the bold persons who have taken the vow to put up with any loss and face any hardship in order to maintain independence and peace. They were born and brought up in freedom, and it is curious that such men have on landing in India forgotten their history and are ill-disposed towards self-government. While the message of freedom is illuminating the whole world, it is absurd that the Europeans in our country only fight shy of the light and are trying to obstruct it. It is to be regretted that, while their brethren are sacrificing their lives in the French theatre for main-

taining liberty, these men here are endeavouring to destroy all liberty. It is opposed to British traditions that, while the people are doing their best to establish self-government these people have girded up their lions to frustrate their endeavours. Perhaps just as food becomes a poison to a scik sick man, so also liberty has become unpalatable to the Englishmen as soon as they have landed in India.

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592. <u>The Home Rule deputation to England</u>.

(Dated 15th April 1918, para 1, page 617).

The Hindu, of the 15th April, writes:- The final refusal of the War cabinet to rescind the prohibition order against Mr. Tilak and his party, and the omission to give any reasons for the same, are absolutely inexplicable. The Viceroy's representation should have been given due weight and if, notwithstanding, there were good reasons for not permitting the deputation to proceed to Great Britain they should be expressly stated for the information of the public. .... Why should the people of India be kept in the dark about what is going on in the theatres of war and in the Councils of the Government? ..... It is but common justice and common decency that Mr. Tilak's deputation, which xx xxxx has large amount of popular enthusiasm and popular support at its back, should be treated with due considerable by the authorities. It was due to the members of the deputation who are accredited leaders of the people to give them timely notice that their proceeding to England would not be permitted and the reason why. .... The mere <u>ipse dixit</u> of the War Cabinet, without reasons given in its support against Mr. Tilak's deputation going to England is of little value. It seems to us, therefore, clear that while the critical condition in which the Empire now stands on account of the fortunes of the war, must induce every British citizen to rally to its support inevery

~~Brxxxxxx~~ possible~~xd~~ way, the Government both of this country and of the United Kingdom must throw aside all reserveand frankly take the leaders of the Indian people into their entire confidence."

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 16th April, says:- "Three of the chief officials of the All-India H ome Rule League, an insignificant portion of the people of India have, like the proverbial three tailors of Tooley street, sent a cablegram of the stereotyped Home Rule patten in the name of the people of India to the Prime Minister of England, the Secretary of State for the time being, and the two inevitable members of Parliament, Commander Wedgwood and Mr. George Lansbury. .... We must confess that for bluff the cablegram is hard to beat. The action, that is, the cancellation of the passport to the second deputation, says the cablegram, 'has produced a situation in this country fraught with great peril for the good relations between India and Britain.' Fiddlesticks! 'The three officials of the league want to make the British Ministers believe that the action is disastrous and 'would gravely affect the public tranquility of India.' No doubt it would create a flutter in the dovecots of the Beach House and the Adyar, even that will settledown in a day or two. As for the people of India they view the incident with perfect equanimity. Abuse, one of the principle weapons in the Home Rule armoury has not been spared even on the present occasion, Lord Sydenham being the target. These heroics provoke the laugh of even serious people. We need scarcely say that signatories to the telegram are Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Mrs. Annie Besant and A. Rangaswami Ayyangar."

New India, of the 17th April, states:- "From Simla has come the Communique which His Majesty's Government have issued on the subject of the Congress and Home Rule deputations to England. We regret but we must take exception to the tone of the communique and we regard it as inspired by a misunderstanding of the actual situation. ... It certainly will make people hesitate in the matter of responding to the Premier's appeal. .... For the last many years the Parliament has been neglecting India and has preferred to remain ignorant of our affairs. This attitude is to a great extent responsible for the dire consequences of the war arising out of shortage of man-power. The Communique refers to 'a xxx crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort, etc.' May we ask who is mainly responsible for the appalling situation that has arisen? It is not to a very great extent due to the almost criminal negligence of the British Parliament towards Indian affairs? Even in the early days of the war when Indian leaders requested the building up of a voluntary Indian army, and the Cabinet take any notice of it? ... If Great Britain loses this war--may the Gods avert it! -- a great share of the blame thereof will rightly fall to the credit of the 8 'wooden and antediluvian' Government of India. That suicidal policy the Cabinet is now helping in perpetuating and the Indi n public will have to consider all the factors of the situation when they come to a decision regarding the appeal of the Prime Minister."

The Hindu of the 17th April, remarks:-"The following Press Communique has been issued at Simla on the subject of the prohibition of the Home Rule and the Congress Deputations:- ...... From the first part of the Communique it looks as if what we had feared has come to pass, namely, that the H ome Government has succumbed to the mischievous agitation which

has xxx been going on in England against the Indian Reform Movement, engineered by the Indo-British Association, against Lord Sydenham and others. That section among Indian politicians who stood out against the Congress and Home Rule deputation have also, as it now turns out, played into the hands of our enemies. ... That the Goernment in England is thoroughly misinformed as to the object of the Home Rule deputation is clear from the statement in the communique that it wanted to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own'..... The exigencies of the war occupy obviously a secondary and subordinate place in the matter of the decision of His Majesty's Government. If this latter ground had stood alone, Indian public opinion would feel compelled to treat the decision of His Majesty's Government with respect, though even then the Viceroy's word to the members of the deputation would stand overruled. the Pronouncement of His Majesty's Govenment in the form and spirit in which it is couched must cause deep dissatisfaction among the Indian public. It is exceedingly unfortunate that it should have been at a time when the resources of this country in men and money should made available for the further prosecution of the war."

Justice of the 17th April, has the following:- "His Majesty's Government have assumed a firm attitude in the matter of the Home Rule and Congress deputations to England What they say in their communication to the Government of India which is published elsewhere, is clear enough. One wonders why the Government of India themselves failed to forestall His Majesty's Government, and why the latter did not speak out earlier in such plain terms. .... Since Lord Chelmsford's famous declaration regarding Mrs. Besant's promise to co-operate with him to create a calm atmosphere during the Secretary of State's ~~sojourn~~ sojourn in this country, the Home

Rulers have been carrying ~~the Secretary of State's~~ on an unprecedentedly noisy campaign in this country, without any interference from any Government Imperial or Local. Indeed to the public these Governments have appeared as indifferent and helpless spectators, even while the Home Rulers themselves have increased their demands in various forms offering alternatives with an impudence and audacity unknwon in the history of recent Indian political agitation. ... In spite of threats to the country in the orthodox Congress style, the War Cabinet eo not want the Home Rule and Congress delegates in England. ... It is no wonder that the responsible statesmen who compose the war Cabinet should be of the opinion that, after the pronouncement made on their bahalf by the Secretary of State on the 20th August, last, if the Home Ruler tries to force their hands by His 'Premature and possibly harmful propaganda' the Secretary of State's visit would be 'compromised' and 'fatally impaired.' But the Indian Home Ruler is a peculiar type of humanity who has been taught to take generosity for weakness. Of course the War Cabine t will not now be spared by him. But the supreme executive body of the Empire is strong enough for it. We only wish that the War canibet will infuse their spirit into some of their agents in India."

New India of the 18th April, observes:- "There is hardly a sane and patriotic Indian who has not been disappointed at reading the War Cabinet Communique published yesterday. The tone of it is rightly felt to be objectionable and the implication intolerable. .... In fact the Communique is an indication that the agents of the exploiters Sydenham & Co., have been successful in throwing dust in the eyes of His Majesty's War Cabinet. In a way, we approve of the frank though deplorable language of the Communique, as it makes clear to all Indians the situation which is emerging. ....

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It appears as if we are asked to carry out commands, but our counsel, advice or opinions are not wanted. When the other day the Premier made his appeal, many though that in this hour of adversity when Britain calls for our co-operation, we should extend a hand of fellowship. The Communique dispels that delusion: We now are made to feel that we are only expected to serve our masters and not to help our friends. ... Are we Indians expected to our our treasures in the War Coffers of the Empire and to shed our blood, so that Belgium and Serbia and Rumania and the German Aferican Colonies may determine for themselves what kind of Home Rule they shall have for themselves, while we Indians leave ourselves to the tender mercies of bureaucrats and exploiters with vested interests?"

Justice of the 18th April, writes:-"What the Hindu feared has come to pass, the Home Government ' has succumbed to the mischievous agitation which has been going on in England against the Indian reform movement engineered by the Indo-British Association, Lord Sydenham and others,' For this blessing we are truly thankful. At one stage of this protracted passport-cancelling process it looked as if the 'benevolent agitation' directed against the British Government in India engineered by 'highly patriotic Indians', both natural-born and adopted, had succeeded in capturing a rather accommodating Viceroy with an inordinate desire for calm political atmospheres. .... We wonder whether Home Rulers will even now realise that bluff is a game that does not pay that one cannot continue for ever to sail under false colours. The pretence of the Indian Home Rulers will have even now realise that bluff is a game that does not pay , that one cannot continue for ever to sail under false colours The pretence of the Indian Home Rulers that they represent

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the masses in India or the true democracy of India has been a ~~friend~~ fraud from the very beginning. The object of the Home Rule deputation was to pose before the British public as the representatives of the Indian democracy; and we are glad that the British cabinet has nipped in the bud this campaign of false pretences. .... We want to make it perfectly plain to the Home Rulers that their attempt to take advantage of the present crisis to exhort what they want from the British Government will hopelessly fail, for the majority of the population of this country will stand by the British Government and put down by force, if a resort to force were necessary, the anti-British machinations of a discontented minority of the Indian population. The principle of self-determination will not help the Home Rulers, because self does not stand for Home Rule, and the overwhelming majority of the Indian population will emphatically decide to remain under the British Government rather than to pass under the control of a self-advertising and worth less ~~ol~~ oligarchy. .... Till now (the British Government appeared to be under the impression that the noisy political agitators really represented the India that stood by Great Britain in the present war. The financial help rendered to the Empire by India mainly came from the Indian princes and the landed aristocracy, the Indians who shed their blood in fighting for the country mainly belonged to the fighting classes in India, and the large army of non-combatants who have done meritorious service in the present war came from the depressed classes who have till now suffered untold miseries with ~~no~~ the help from the superior classes and but a small amount of help from the Government. None ofthes e three classes who have till now ~~fuf~~ suffered untold miseries with no help from the superior classes and but a small amount of help from the Government.) None of these three classes

and but a small amount of help from the Government. None of these three classes is represented to any extent among the noisy agitators. .... Above all, the British Government in India must be firm. Yielding to clamour and noise is a dangerous policy in India as has already been demonstrated to a certain extent by the vacillations of the Government of India in connexion with a recent political event. The unfortunate climb down of the Government of India in that instance has made the average Home Ruler extremely arrogant. The impertinence of one of the members of the Home Rule deputation, since returned home, in saying that he was not going to England with a begging policy but to claim his rights, is an example of the defiant attitude of the Home Rulers at the present time directly brought about by the ~~vilification~~ vicillation of the Government of India. It is never too late to mend, and we hope that now the Government at home have at last assumed a welcome attitude of firmness they they will infuse a little more of the same quality into the Government of India and save this country from being made the scene of a civil strife, which, we are certain, is inevitable if the Home Rulers continue in their present state of defiance of authority. The British Government have enough evidence before them to decide who their friends are and who their foes, and if in the coming reforms any sufrender is made out of sentimental or diplomatic reasons to this small band of men who take advantage of the present crisis and defy the British authority the British Government will make the same mistake that Louis XI of France made in paying a friendly visit to Duke Dharles of Burgundy.

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593. Mr. Tilak's deputation.

(Dated 8th April 1918, para 32, page 628).

Remarking that the prohibition of Mr. Tilak and his party from proceeding to England is the result of the mighty efforts of the Anglo-Indians who are working against the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Indians, the Lokopakari, of the 8th April, observes:- It is desirable that the Government should consider that it is not proper for them to subject Mr. Tilak to trouble several times. They give room for the people to think that they are inimical to him. It is necessary that they should conduct themselves in such a way that this kind of impression is not created in the minds of the people.

Referring to the message said to have been received in Colombo permitting Mr. Tilak and the Home Rule deputation to proceed to England via the Cape, the Swadesamitram, of the 9th April, observes:- Mr. Lloyd George has appealed to the Indians for assistance. Even now the Sydenham party are working in England as so to wound the feelings of the Indians. If a person abuses us, are we not to be given an opportunity to reply to him? Ar e we made of stone and mud that we should be pocketing it quietly? Have we no feeling? Mr. Tilak and his party should not have been prevented from going to England at least for the sake of giving them an opportunity to reply to the party reviling them. Mr. Lloyd George would not have prohibited them. We think he must have passed orders on the representation of some persons like Lord Sydenham or Sir Valentine Chirol. In his first message to Mr. Tilak, the Viceroy seems to have said that his journey had to be stopped as England has to devote all her attention to the war. It is necessary that they should at once go to England for the reason that the

war is at a critical stage and that peace in the country and success in the war are now sought. England entered into the war to secure the liberty of the nations. When the war is coming to an end, everything should be done with that end in view. Though India was not consulted when England entered into the war, is it not India that helped her at a critical juncture? Is there a limit to the help given by India since then in men and money? How can the British Empire without the help of India, cope with the complications that may perhaps arise in Asia in the future? If India is given a position of equality, the British Empire can with her help be supreme in the world. Hence, unless the greatness of India is represented to England now, and the British people are made to realise it, a similar occasion may not arise in the future. It is only during the course of the war that Australia and other countries came to determine the nature of their connection connexion with the Empire and that they consented to include ~~the natire of their connexion~~ India in the Imperial Conference. This is indeed the time for us too to assert our rights.

The Dravidan of the 9th April, refers to the Tilak deputation having been prohibited from proceeding to England and remarks that the present juncture, when our English brethren are sacrificing their all in the field of war, is a most inopportune one for demanding Home Rule for India. The paper says that this deputation appears to have started in spite of the Viceroy having hinted that this was not the time for it, and hopes that the Government would stick to their present decision at least resolutely.

The Prapanchamitran of the 9th April, attributesthe first order received by Mr. Tilak, prohibiting him and the other members of the deputation from sailing to England to the mischief of European merchants who have been living upon Indian money for the last 150 years and some retired

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and some retired European officials and says:- We are sure to obtain Home Rule. Neither Lord Sydenham nor other Europeans can hamper the progress of the Indian Home Rule Movement. Obstacles like these only strengthen our mind and nerves. If all the Indians would take a vow that they would not purchase foreign goods we can throw dust in to the mouths of the European merchants, who do harm to us.

The Desabhaktan, of the 11th April, takes exception to the surprise expressed by the Dravidan at the order prohibiting the Tilak deputation from proceeding to England having been cancelled so soon and remarking that though the Home Rule movement is apparently hampered by the petty acts of the few Anglo-Indians here, it is sure to succeed with the help of the magnanimity of England observes:- The Dravidan objects to the demand for Home Rule at this movement moment when England is engaged in a horrible and dangerous war. But it is only in this time of war that India should help England. Unless India is granted Home Rule, it will not be possible for her to help England with men and money. If Japan were to become an enemy of England suddenly, what will be the fate of India? Is she to wait till help arrives from England? Our aim is that India should be able to protect herself without the help of England.

//Referring to the order said to have been issued by the War Cabinet prohibiting this deputation from proceeding to England, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th April observes:- That Mr. Tilak and others intended to go to England as widely known in this country for some months past. Further it is over

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two months since they got their passports. This matter must therefore have been known to the British War Cabinet long ago. Yet, they kept silent over it till the last moment and prohibited them from sailing just at the time of embarkation. The common ~~xxx~~ people are sure to think that this order must have been issued only under the influence of others. If it is true that the British authorities think that the speeches which Mr. Tilak and his party might make in England regarding Home Rule will be prejudicial to the interests of the country what are we to say about the agitation in the House of Commons on learning that the authorities have decided to grant Home Rule to Ireland at this juncture? Do the authorities there think that that agitation will not be detrimental to the war?

Referring to the same subject and attributing this prohibition party to the efforts of the enemies of the Home Rule movement in England, the Naradan, of the 15th April, writes:- It is highly regrettable that the authorities should have issued the order of prohibition at the last moment. It is very unjust that they should have allowed our enemies to carry on their work in England against the Home Rule movement and prohibited our representatives from going there. We think everyting happens for good. We trust that the good resulting from this prohibition will be greater than what it would be if Mr. Tilak and others had gone to England. There is no doubt that the action of the authorities will open the eyes of the people and their leaders.

Adverting to this subject the Hindu Nesan, of the 15th April, also expresses its regret at the order of prohibiting having been issued at the very last moment and remarks that this order cannot but cause great anxiety to true patriots.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th April, reports the Karnataka to have stated: If it is a fact that Mr. Tilak's deputation to England was stopped, it will create great disappointment in the country. There can be nothing more prejudicial to the mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled at the present moment. .... The Government have not expressed their disapproval of the deputation till the last moment . The prohibition of the deputation will only aggravate the present unrest in the country. We hope that the rulers will consider the matter deeply and allow Mr. Tilak to proceed on his voyage to England.

Under this heading the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 10th April, writes:- Lokamanya Tilak is a man of deep insight and has laboured very strenuously for the the welfare of India. He has even suffered imprisonment for seven or eight years. No one among us knows so well as he the hardship and suffering which patriotism implies. However, his starting on this journey in the belief that by a deputation to England it would be possible to obtain Home Rule, the grant of permission by the Government of India and the present order stopping the deputation from proceeding to England--all these go to reveal the lack of far-sightedness. These deputations serve no purpose whatsoever. Should there be unity among ourselves and full regard for the British Empire., our desires are sure to be fulfilled; otherwise it would be difficult. These are critical times; the enemy

is very formidable and his knowledge of the art of warfare is very great. We should do our best to crush him, otherwise there will be danger to the British Empire which means also danger to India. Therefore it would be better if patriots like Mr. Tilak, instead of going on deputation, remain in the countr and help to obtain recruits for the defence of the Empire and when the war is over make the necessary arrangements to secure Home Rule. Going to England on deputation in this present confusion cannot be productive of any good. We think the British Government did well in cancelling their passports and making them return to India!

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594. The Home Rule deputation.

(Dated 11th April 1918, para 33, page 631).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 11th April, reports the Times of India to have remarked, regarding the cancellation of the passports given to the members of the Home Rule deputation to go to England, that to prevent them from embarking for England just when they made every arrangemet and were ready to set sail, is to violate the primary rights of man.

The same paper reports the Bombay Chronicle to have stated:- If the people of England and the Government are fully engaged in connexion with the war, Mr. Tilak will wait for a suitable opportunity. It is unfair to obstruct the carriers of the national mission in the way in which that was done. We are at a loss to know how far the British Cabinet or Lord Sydenham and his followers have been responsible for this provoking step.

Referring to the cancellation of the passports of Mr. Tilak and party the Suprabhatam, of the 17th April, observes that there is a reason that may be assigned for disallowing the deputation to proceed, viz., that as the war has now reached a most critical stage this is not the time for Home Rule discussion. This is true, but the argument loses weight as the Irish Home Rule question is being solved now. Any way let us hope that the war will end in victory for us and that Britain will then be ready to hear our complaint.

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595. The Home Rule movement.

(Dated 9th April 1918, para 47, page 636).

A correspondent to the Prapanchamitran, of the 9th April says that, unless a number of patriots carry on the work in different places, the Home Rule movement will not spread far and wide, that the retarding effect of punishment by Government will not last for a long time, and that, above all, the surest method of the people improving their condition without injuring anybody is to devote their body and life to the service of the country.

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595. The benefits of Home Rule.

(Dated 11th April 1918, para 48, page 636).

A correspondent to the Naradan, of the 11th April details a number of grievances to which the Indians are now subject, such as, the hardships suffered by the Indians on railways, the high price of salt, the inability of the Indian to be happy while foreigners are living upon the resources of India, the disparity in the matter of the salaries paid to Indians and Europeans, the cruel treatment meted out to Indians by Europeans and the European predominance in trade, and argues that Home Rule is the

only panacea for all these evils. In the course of this article the following observations are found:- People die at present of epidemics and famine. .... The Government is carried on by the whites and laws are enacted as it pleases them. .... There is no doubt that the false patriots and the whites known as Anglo-Indians are traitors. ... Mr. Tilak did not solicit the help of the whites from the beginning. ... Raise cries of Home Rule, Swaraj and liberty day and night and agitate.

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595. The Hon'ble Mr.Kaparde.

(Dated 9th April 1918, para 50, page 636).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 9th April, comments on as follows on the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde recently delivered by him at Madras:- His words will very well apply to the Government. Those who asked for Home Rule were confined in jails. Some false patriots were awarded titles lik- like Rao Bahadur and Diwan Bahadur, Prahlada attained eternal bliss only by having withstood many troubles and forsaken many pleasures. Similarly Indians will get Home Rule if they are not afraid of the threat of incarceration and are not desirous of titles. Then can the British Empire too gain the strength and permanency. The Government and the people should bear in mind the words of Mr. Khaparde.

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596. The Prime Minister's message and the Home Rule deputation.

(Dated 13th April 1918,para 59,page 640).

The Kistnapatrika, of the 13th April, says with reference to the message of the Prime Minister to the Viceroy:- The Home Rule League has realised the situation mentioned in the message and have arranged for a deputation with Mr. Tilak at its head in order to tell the British people that

~~that,~~ so longø as India is kept in bondage, the Empire cannot be safe and that it is necessary to make the Indians free at once for the sake of the peøace of the Empire. His Excellency the Viceroy has promised to help the members of the deputation in their endeavours. But the authorities have caused disappointment and indignation by cancelling their passports just ø when they were about to embark for England. But, on account of the persistent efforts of Mr. Tilak, the Government have amended their orders.

ø 597. Disappointment.

(Dated 15th April 1918, para 71, page 643).

In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 15th April, says:- The necessity of the self-government for India will at once be felt by those who have seen the attitude of the rulers in England towards the ø deputation of Mr. Tilak. Another instance has been given of the arbitrary conduct of the authorities? ... The news of the ~~xxxxx~~ cancellation of the passports given to the members of the deputation has created astonishment and regret. The people are at a loss to know what to do. What harm is there in allowing the deputation to go to England? .... The message of the Prime Minister and the mission of Mr. Tilak both proclaim the necessity of India's help in winning victory in the war. The Cabinet has thrown obstacles in the way of deputation. Though disappointment will surely prevail in the country, thereby, there is no need to doubt the victory of the cause of Home Rule. .... It may be stated that the stopping of the deputation is in one way for the good of the country. The war has entered on a critical stage. As stated by the Prime Minister, there are indications that the Germans peril may extend to Asia also. Under such circumstances it is better that the leaders of the people stay in

in the country for the guidance of the people. .... The Home Rule movement cannot but meet with success, for Home Rule for India is as necessary fot the efficiency of the Empire as for the advancement of the Indians. The principles to maintain which this war is waged are favourable to the grant of self-government to India. Justice and duty proclaim its necessity. Under such circumstances, the aims which the thirty crores of Indians cherish with one mind cannot but be fulfilled.

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598. The Delhi Conference and Home Rule.

(Dated 20th April 1918, para 1, page 649).

New India, of the 20th April, writes:- "These are days when a courageous and frank expression of opinion is essential in the interests of the Government, the people and the Empire. Yesterday we commented upon the official announcement about the holding of a Special Conference on the 27th Next at Delhi. An item on the agenda calls "a true ø to political differences" and the Conference is to bring about "a cessation of political propaganda" .... There is only one way, safe, straight and honest, by which this condition could be attained. It consists in passing a bill through the Parliament granting Home Rule to India. ... It is futile to ask Indians to desist frpm political propaganda It is very unnatural demand and is of course extremely unfair. ... If a few miles from the seat of war political discussion can go on why should it stop in India? Is the enemy nearer Peshawar than Calais?"

Writing under the heading "Another Ultimatum" Justice, of the 23rd April, says:- "Richard Coddben once said that he did not deal in perorations. He was a matter of fact politician who was bent upon achieving solid results for the greatest happiness of the greatest number of his fellow countrymen. The Indian Home Ruler, on the contrary, loves perorations, and deals in perorations. Words are his stock-in-trade, and never is he so pleased with himself as when he has delivered to an excited throng of eager listeners his magnificent peroration or what passes for such. ... With these Ayyars and Ayyangars and their savior Mrs. Besant, posing as the voice and organ of the people of this Presidency, the intelligent reader will have no difficulty in estimating the real character of this new ultimatum and the value to be attached to it as a political document. It is the latest manifestation of the consuming political ambition of the Brahman to seize on the reins of power in order to lord it over the rest of the people of this country. .... So far as the War Cabinet and the Imperial Parliament are concerned the Home Rulers know as much as we do that their ultimatum will be treated no better than as a scrap of paper. They can of course vent their venon on that responsible body. ... As we said, the authors of the manifesto know well enough that it will not influence the attitude of any sane politician in England. But they are apparently confident that they can intimidate the authorities in India and, through them, induce the Delhi Conference to commit it to some definite pronouncement in favour of Home Rule. Obviously with this object in view both the Hindus and New India do their best to discredit the Madras representatives on it, or rather the Madras Non-Brahman representatives on it, who are opposed to the Besantine clique. ..... Can anything be more dishonest, more palpably dishonest, than the statement of the Hindu that 'it is diffi-

cult to divine what the representative character of Dr.T.M. Nayar is.' Doctor Nayar certainly does not pretend to be a representative of any of the agraharams. But look at the Brahmanical meanness the Brahmanical malice, and the Brahmanicle spite contained in the statement. We shall fight the authors of xxx this so-called manifesto. It is an affront, a calculated affront, to the intelligence, good sense and loyalty of the people in whose name and behind whose back it is issued."

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 24th April observes:- "We do not see the occasion for a manifesto of the kind issued over the signatures of a few Home Rulers under the general heading of the Present Situation. ... The Manifesto which we are referring to is an unrecognizable picture of the sentiments and aspirations of the people of India and we do not think that any one will take it seriously. .... The signatories to the manifesto are assuming too much when they say that the Congress-Muslim League scheme has the support of the leaders of the people, which is far from the truth. It may represent the irreducible minimum demanded by a handful of platform orators, but it has nothing to do with the people of India, as Mr. Montagu must have realised by now. ... Whatever be the significance of the sentiments which they have tried to express, it is idle to expect the GovernmentGovernment to enter into a bargain with a few Indians who are by no means the sole representatives of the people of India and settle the lines of the future administration of the country at a time when problems of this kind cannot cannot be discussed dispassionately. ... We feel it our duty to warn those who are responsible for the peaceful administration of the India against accepting or taking on trust the views of a few faddists who are obsessed by the notion that all is wrong with India and her affairs and

and revolutionary changes are needed in the interests of the country."

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599. **Mrs.Besant's Calcutta Speech.**

(Dated 20th April 1918, para 3, page 650).

In a leader on this subject, Justice, of the 20th April, remarks:- "A visitor to a cemetery on observing the inscription on the tombstone of a one year old child remarked 'I knew that this would happen some day, but did not know that it would happen so soon.' We feel constrained to make the same remark about the speech delivered in Calcutta by Mrs. Besant. The partnership between the Viceroy and this ~~this~~ lady for the creation of a calm political atmosphere during the sojourn of the Secretary of State in this country was never expected to last, but no one thought that the storm after the calm would burst with such fury when the Secretary of State was yet in this country. .... As to the rest of Mrs. Besant's speech we have the usual fallacies, the usual failure to grasp the realities of the situation in India and the other ingredients of the Besantine forth. A comparison between India and Ireland is too transparently fallacious to deceive anyone but an Indian Home Ruler. .... The plea that India with its freedom would depend itself against a foreign foe is falsified by the past history of India. India has never been able to defend itself against a foreign invader, for the simple reason that India was never an organised unit. The many sections and communities into which India was split up and on account of which India failed to defend itself against foreign invaders would have continued to exist had it not been for the unifying influence exerted by the British Government. .... To echo the Irish demand that without self-government the country will not have its heart in any fight for the defence of the Empire is crass ignorance.

We have already pointed out in these columns that the fighting races in India are by no means under the control of the noisy agitators. If these agitators only knew the fate that is in store for them if the British Government were to with draw its protecting influence, they would not be so hasty in demanding freedom of control from the British Government. The Indian soldier will not fight any the better if he felt that he was fighting for the Besantine clique and the Brahman oligarchy, and the veiled threats of Mrs. Besant, however effective from a theatrical point of view are absolutely futile. It is a dangerous thing to threaten with an unloaded revolver, especially when the threatened party knows the factthat the revolver is unloaded. For the present we are only concerned with the fact that after the artificial calm atmosphere that was produced the inevitable stomm has burst; but on that account neither the Victory nor the Secretary of State need feel uneasy, for what appears to be a storm is only a passing shower and will leave no effect behind in disturbing the political sky."

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599. <u>The Home Rule deputation to Englangd</u>.

(Dated 20th April 1918, para 4, page 650).

The Karnataka, of the 20th April observes:- "From their own communique, it is evident that His Majesty's Government have assumed far too much with reference to the object and motives of the deputation, and that they leave have under the influence of the avowed enemies of India's national aspirations. When the Sydenhamite crusade is left free to run on its wildest form it would have been nothing more than bare justice if India had been permitted to have her say. That this simple principle of fair play should have been trampled upon at a time when so much is being said about justice and equity and comradeship, is a cruel mockery of

of which Imperial statesmen could never be suspected of being capable. ... In view of this colossal insult flung in the face of India, our duty is clear as it is imperative:- We have to show that the "uncompromising" propaganda is not merely of this "marked" leader of that of the Congress or of the Home Rule League, but of the entire country."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 23rd April says:- "It would be difficult to express in fitting terms the feelings aroused in Indian hearts by the refusal to allow the deputations from India to proceed to England. .... We may well ask the Government why it has behaved in this extraordinary manner. Unless the cancellation of the passports is a mere momentary freak, they must have come to the decision to exclude Indian deputations after careful thought, knowing the offence that their decision would cost, and thinking it worthwhile to irritate Indian feeling and to override the decision of the King's representative in India, forcing him to break this promise, publicly given in his Legislative Council. At least, they might have condescended to stop the first deputation before it had accomplished nearly six weeks of its seven weeks' journey, and not to land then in a small military fortification. Even having done all this, as ships are constantly passing through the straits of Gibraltar, it might have given orders that their return coupons, already paid for, might be accepted for their passage home. The whole proceeding apart from its injustice, is marked by the most reprehensible discourtesy and unnecessary infliction of annoyance. ... The acquiescence in the Sydenham agitation and the rejection of the deputations is as lacking in impartiality as in justice, and shows the anti-liberal bias of the Cabinet.

It is hardly credible that under these circumstances the Premier begs for Indian help and Indian sacrifices to win for other countries the liberty he withholds from India. Doubtless it is also he wishes that all political discussion should be stopped. He evidently has not learned the lesson of Russia."

The Hindu of the 24th April, remarks:- "The reply given in the House of Commons by Mr. Fisher to the question put by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as to the reason for prohibiting the Indian Deputations from proceeding to England will be read with amazement in India. He stated that the War Cabinet decided that it would not be right to depart from the general rule that passports should only be issued where the journey was undertaken in the national interest. .... Were the Government of India so utterly ignorant of this rule as to issue passports, to two Indian Deputations in succession? It is incredible that the authorities in India would have acted in flagrant violation of such an important direction. ...... And what really does this nauseating talk about 'na- 'national' interest amount to ? It simply means that the erratic and strangely constituted body, the War Cabinet, presuming to act in the national interest can invade private rights of travel without molestation in the most revolting manner and insult a whole nation by a step taken at the last moment and in the most provoking manner. .... The fact is that this stupendous folly, inspired probably by sinister influence working in secret, is sought to be justified by a line of reasoning which, unluckily, results only in exposing more surface for just attack and exposes the injustice and highhandedness of the whole transaction."

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Referring to the Home Government's reply to question in the House of Commons, on the stoppage of the Home Rule deputation, New India of the 25th April observes:- "There is nothing which makes one feel more disgusted than the lack of candour and honesty displayed by the British Cabinet at the present time. Apart from the colossal hypocrisy of pretending to fight for Self-Determination 'in all theatres" while acting tyrannically towards India, and copying the Colonies in refusing to allow Indians to land in England, it condam condescends to petty falsehoods which cannot deceive a child. .... A hypocritical excuse of the kind given is merely exasperating, and for the War Cabinet to condescend to such manifest falsehood is humiliating to itself and insulting to Parliament. Brazen tyranny is more dignified than petty subterfuges. .... The time for hectoring India as an inferior is over. If she is great enough to be asked for help, she is too great to be treated with contumely. If her reply to England's request is a National, even an Imperial interest, England's treatment of her ambassadors is also of National interest--in her own view, at least, if not in that of the War Cabinet. The glib talk and about "Loyalty"--that much ill-used word-- is apt to deceive England. The git It no longer means blind and crouching submission: it means an open-eyed upstanding, offer of alliance, not of servitude."

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600. **Home Rulers and the Premier's appeal.**

(Dated 23rd April,1918,para 7,page 653).

New India, of the 23rd April, has the following:- "There is an amazing amount of nonsense talked by Anglo-Indians about India 'bargainigg' with Britain, because she asks for an assurance that she shall share the self-determination for which, according to Mr. Lloyd George, the Allies are 'fighting in every theatre.' For nearly four years India has been pouring out men and money in defence of the Allies, for whose sake she has exposed herself to the danger ofan extension of the German Empire in the East. She has been rendered defenceless by disarmamentand her longings for liberty repressed by coercion. She now asks for a freedom which will enable her to defend her own soil, for an application to herself, to quote Mr. Lloyd George once more, of the principle for which she is asked to fight. Nations do not fight for amusement, but because they have an object to gain. In Britain, men are urged to fight to maintain their freedom--surely, according to the Madras Times, a very selfish motive. Why may not men here be urged to fight to win their freedom, and not only to maintain the liberty of others? An inspiring motive is required if men are to face death, and freedom has ever been the greatest inspiration that men have felt. But to ask people to fight for other people's freedom, from the enjoyment of which the fighters are to be excluded, needs a considerable amount of impudence."

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601. **Ireland and India.**

(Dated 16th April 1918, para 28, page 661).

The Swadesamitran, of the 6th April, in a long ~~leader~~ letter dilates upon the characteristic features of the Home Rule asked for by Ireland and comparing the same with those of the Home Rule demanded by India, observes:- It is only as regards finances that we agree with Ireland in demanding complete powers. In other respects, what we demand is very little, ~~x~~ when compared with the demands of Ireland. All the objections of the Government have been anticipated in framing our demands. Ireland wants all powers to be in its own hands and the Govern too are trying very hard to satisfy her in a way. Mr. Lloyd George said in the house of Commons on the 9th instant that a Bill would be introduced for the ~~x~~ grant of Home Rule to Ireland so as to prevent the Irish troops feeling that, while they had to fight for the freedom of Belgium, they had not that freedom themselves. ~~When Mr. Lloyd George said in the House of Commons on the 9th instant that a Bill would be introduced for the grant of Home Rule to Ireland so as to prevent the Irish troops feeling that, while they had to~~ When Mr. Lloyd George appealed to India for help, why did he not consider that the Indians also would have the same feeling? If Home Rule is to be granted at this critical juncture to Ireland, which asks for all powers, is itnot wise statesmanship to allow the Indians, who demand only certain powers, to go to England, explain their views and, getting their grievances redressed, enter into the war with exuberant enthusiasm and win a victory?

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602. **Mr. Tilak's deputation.**

(Dated 17th April 1918, para 30, page 661).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th April, refers to the søtopping of the Home Rule Deputation and remarks:- It is not proper that the Government in England should trat lightly of the deputation encouraged by His Excellency the Viceroy. The object of the deputation in going to England is to pave the way for the victory of England in the war. The English Government has not been able to understand this. For the present, Lord Sydenham's party has succeeded. The leaders have at once to consider what the people have next to do.

The Desamata, of the 17th April, says:- The whole of India has been moved to indignation by the order cancelling passports of the members of the Home Rule deputation, who wanted to go to England with the object of bringing home to the minds of the British the machinations of Lord Sydenham and his party. We think that a conended India will do great service to the British Empire and that it is not good for the British rulers to obstruct such contentment, and hope that the British Cabinet will act with farsightedness.

A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 18th April, says:- It is to be regretted that the War Cabinet relied upon the words of some of selfish people and, withought a knowledge of the good intentions of the Home Rule deputation, prohibited its members from setting their foot in their country. It is needless to say that the order of the Cabinet has like a thunderbolt greatly alarmed the people. What shall we do? On the one hand, English merchants have made India their abode and are endeavouring to obstruct the

the fulfilment of our aims. On the other hand, Lord Sydenham, and other pensioners in England, who have been benefited by us but who are ungrateful, and English merchants are obstructing our endeavours, are vilifying us and are publishing lies...... Our only resort is Mr. Gadhi's passive resistance. We shall see how far the Indians can be by adopting policy of passing resistance, remove the stain that they sustained by means of the order of the War Cabinet. Mother India is blessing us. We have to see which sons will carry out the order of the mother. Vande Mataram.

In an article expressing its indignation at the orders issued by the Home Rule Government cancelling the passports granted to Tilak and his party, the Swadesabhimani, of the 13th April, writes:- The circumstances lead to the conjecture that this sudden obstacle to the work of the deputation is the result of the intrigue carried on by Sydenham in England. For, it is well-known what enormous efforts these bitter enemies of the Home Rule movement, namely, Lord Sydenham and Company, are making in this direction. Whosoever may be responsible for creating this obstacle, there can be no doubt that their action is most inexpedient at the present, juncture. The volume of popular indignation that has resulted from this order has been sufficiently indicated by the protest meetings held in various parts of the country. If Sydenham should help India to obtain the Congress-League scheme of reforms without Tilak and his party going to England, India would indeed be deeply grateful to this personage. But there is little chance of our obtaining the reforms without effort. It is gratifying to learn however that the Home Rule deputation has since been permitted to proceed to England.

Referring to the withdrawal of passport granted to the Tilak deputation the Mysore Star, of the 21st April writes:- It is now settled that the Home Rule deputation will not go to England for the present. The extremists will now realise that the decision of the Indian National Congress Committee not to send any deputation to England at this juncture was a perfectly farsighted one. The deputation has reaped the inevitable result of precipitate action. It is however to be regretted that the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Legislative Council and the encouragement given rather thoughtlessly by His Excellency were to a great extent responsible for the increased zeal of the Home Rulers and also to their present disappointment. Some are of opinion that the agitation in India should be greatly increased on account of disappointment; but it will only be more harmful to their cause. The Indian soldiers loyally went to the battle fields of France and their victories there made the British people extend their sympathy to the Indians. And as a result thereof we are enabled at least to give expression to our desire for Home Rule. Even now, if these Home Rulers should follow up that wise course and work with the object of helping the British Government to secure a large supply of men and money from India at this critical juncture, the British people will grant the wishes of India of their own accord. When English women who were fighting for suffrage brushed aside their controversy as as soon as the war broke out and readily turned their energies to the successful prosecution of the war, did not Mr. Asquith and other members of the Cabinet, who were opposed to women suffrage before the war, assist these women to attain their object? We cannot help mentioning here that if the educated men of India should follow this example, it would promote the welfare of the country and also add to their own dignity.

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The war has now reached an acute stage and the Allies are in a critical position. The success of the Allies is necessary for the safety of the British empire and equally for the protection of India.

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Speaking of the cancellation, under the orders of the British War Cabinet, of the passports issued to Mr. Tilak and party, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 17th April, observes:- It does not seem likely that any one will approve of this policy of the British Cabinet. Whatever may be the opinion of the Government about Mr. Tilak , it must be admitted that the people of India for the most part regard him with not a little love and esteem.

Referring to the same subject, the Kerala Bharati, of the the 19th April, remarks:- It is true that at this stageof the war it is not desirable to allow the deputation to proceed to England. But the reason for the statement that such an undertaking will never be permissible is not understood. If the British Parliament which represents the people of Great Britain is to decide the question (of Home Rule), how is it unlawful for Home Rulers to explain their views to the people of Great Britain?

The Kerala Patrika, of the 20th April, considersthat a mistake was made either by the Government of India or the Home Government in first allowing and then disallowing the deputation, and expresses surprise that time and money are spent on muddles while all energy should be focussed on the war and on the solution of emergent problems like the daily rise of the price of foodstuffs.

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603. **The Indian deputation to England.**

(Dated 17th April 1918, para 34, page 664).

The Swadesamitran, of the 17th April refers to the communique, issued by the Government of India on the subject of the prohibition of the Home Rule and Congress deputations to England, as a curious explanation, and observes:- No Indian can help feeling surprised and provoked on seeing this communique. A close examination of it makes it appear that the British Cabinet wants to lay down that the people should accept whatever reforms the Cabinet may introduce and that no one has a right to demand any particular reforms. If theCabinet has stated that there need be no agitation at present about the reforms, as the proposals of the Secretary of State for India are under consideration, we can rest contented. But the Cabinet has pronounced that an agitation would be improper at any time. Does this indicate that the Cabinet is ~~agitx~~ against a deputation proceeding to England, even after the publication of the proposals of the Secretary of State for India, if these proposals are not perhaps satisfactory? If so, to whom are the Indians to represent their aspirations? The Cabinet further says that the generous intentions of the Government ~~ma~~ might be impaired if an attempt were made to force their hands by a premature and harmful agitation. This is a surprising statement indeed. Why should the generous intentions of the Government be impaired by the popular representatives explaining their wants, and how again did the Government foresee any harm from the agitation which the members of our deputation intended to carry on in England? We cannot understand how an appeal to the English public to raise the status of India and utilise her boundless resources for protecting the Empire can be productive of evil results. Who told the Cabinet that Mr. Tilak and others would demand a Home Rule?

They intended to go there as the representatives of the Congress or the Home Rule League and were as such bound to demand only the Congress League Scheme. So this makes us presume that the Cabinet issued its order on incomplete information, without ascertaining the purposes for which Mr. Tilak and others were proceeding to England. Is it not curious that the British war Cabinet headed by Mr. Lloyd George, who advocates the principle that every country should determine its own from form of Government, should prohibit the people of India from indulging in a political agitation on the ground that the British Cabinet is shaping the system of Government for her. What has has resulted from the agitation carried on by Mr. Joseph Baptista in England? The War Cabinet says that it cannot permit any political agitation during the pendency of this serious war. Was there not the war when the proposals were made in England to grant the right of voting to women and is not the controversial question of granting Home Rule to Ireland going to be brought up in Parliament now? The people of that country are free and so they can indulge in agitation. But the Indians are not free and so they should not do it and this seems to be after all the thing made clear by the communique.

The Desabhaktan, of the 17th April, also refers to this communique and says:- It is no doubt necessary for the Government to suppress unnecessary agitation; but what we demand is that the Government should see whether the time is suitable before resorting to such suppression. The question now arises as to what those who have already left India as members of a deputation to England should now do. The War cabinet should surely be aware of the decision of the Indians to send a Home Rule deputation, which was arrived at several months back, and the promise made by the Viceroy to help such deputation. Why should it

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Why did it not prohibit the deputation then alone? It is really regrettable that some members of the deputation should be prohibited from proceeding after they have gone a long distance. The communique says that the Secretary of State for India has come here to ascertain the opinions of classes of people. But the fact is quite the other way, as a number of deputations were prevented from seeing the Secretary of State. We believe thw War cabinet, which refersto the Home Rule agitation is aware of the agitation carried on by the Sydenham party in England. Perhaps the latter is not deemed to be an agitation.

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604. **Mrs.Besant's Tour.**

(Dated 17th April 1918, para 62, page 675).

Addressing a crowded public meeting this evening under the presidency of Mr. B. Chakravutty, Mrs. Besant who arrived here this evening from Madras Referred to the Prime Minister's message regarding the war situation and the War Cabinet's decision regarding the cancellation of passport of Tilak's Home Rule deputation. Mrs. Besant strongly criticised the War Cabinet's decision and said that while Lord Sydenham and his merchant friends were allowed during the war to carry on a propaganda of slander and calumny against India Mr. Tilak ought to have been allowed to go to England to counteract the evil influence of Sydenham and to place before the English public the real facts about India. The War Cabinet had decided to pass the Home Rule Bill for Ireland during the war. In the face of this decision she could not understand how it could be improper for India for demand Home Rule at the present moment. If Ireland could be promised Home Rule for the purpose of asking Irishmen to fight for the Empire, India also should be promised Home Rule if she

Home Rule for the purpose of asking Irishment to fight for the Empire, India also should be promised Home Rule if she were called upon to fight for the Empire. Regarding Premier's message Mrs. Besant said that India had often in the past to meet with invasion from Central Asia sometimes with success and sometimes without success, but this was the first time when India unarmed had been asked to be prepared to save their homes. Freedom should be promised before Indians were asked to fight for the Empire. If only promise of liberty were made ~~made~~ Indians would enlist themselves in the army not in their hundreds but in their hundreds of thousand.

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605. <u>The failure of the Home Rule deputation.</u>

(Dated 17th April 1918, para 75, page 679).

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan of the 17th April has a lengthy leader on the marginally-noted subject and in expressing concurence in the order of the Home Government preventing the deputation from proceeding to England~~s~~, says:- The Government has acted in a really just manner with reference to Mr. Tilak and his party, and has saved them from disgrace and regret.

Men, who are not blinded by selfishness can, percieve that Germany is at present using her full force, and that in England there is a clamour for strenuous opposition. Only the other day conscription was introduced. Unrest in Ireland has begun afresh. People in England are mourning for their wounded and dead, and are ~~negaged~~ engaged in concerting measures for destroying the enemy. At such a time is ~~xix~~ it possible for a nation to listen to repreach and censure from the mouths of its own subjects? Can any spirited person put up with such harshness and injustice? If India is entitled to Home Rule she must wait until after the war. At this time endeavours should be to help the Empire, and when the war is over,

and the British forces return from the field victorious, then such claims may be made and every one can put forward his case.

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606. **Anglo-Indians and Home Rule.**

(Dated Feb.March 1918, para 78, page 680).

The same correspondent refers to the opinion (Kerala Kesari), expressed by some Anglo-Indian papers that, if Home Rule be given to India, India will be reduced to the present state of Russia. This opinion the correspondent says is absolutely false, as there is no connexion whatever between the two. Indians will not dream of ever doing anything against the Government or anything that will be disliked by His Majesty the King. Indians are not traitors that murder their kings or villians that demolish churches and temples nor are they blinded by greed like those wretches that tear off treaties and try to appease the devil of self-aggrandisement, by the life-blood of fellowmen and countrymen. Indians are true, honourable and loyal. We ask for Home Rule in order to help and serve the King and to establish more firmly than ever the (British) Empire. Anglo-Indians don't be afraid. It may be that some of your present-day perversities may be subdued but you may rest assured that Indians never do anything against their defender the King-Emperor.

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606. **The Home Rule Deputation.**

(Dated 19th April 1918, para 82, page 680).

Referring to the same subject the Manorama, of the 19th April, points out that the object of the deputation was to counter-act the adverse influence of some people in England who work against the idea now under consideration of the Government of giving greater powers of self-government to India. If the deputation of Dr.T.M.Nayar and party is not cancelled also, the impartiality of the War Cabinet will have to be doubted. It is painful that the order is issued at this stage when the deputation was about to embark after completing all arrangements with the expressed or implied approval of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

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607. **The present political sky.**

(Dated 22nd April 1918, para 17, page 689).

In the course of a leader under this heading the Dravidan, of the 22nd April, expresses the opinion that the hasty departure of the Home Rule deputation to England was the outcome of selfish motives and that it is a wrong notion that this deputation has to go to England to curb the hostile efforts of the Indo-British Association, the fact being that the latter had to move because Mr. Baptista and others to of the party ~~thm~~ of Mrs. Besant were setting up the Labour Party there, and adds:- It is again an anomaly to argue that Home Rule should be given to India, if it is to begiven to Ireland. No wise man will admit that if India gets Home Rule and freedom she can be safely guargded against her foes India has always been unable to guard herself against foreigners on account of her people being of various sects and following ~~f~~ various religions. It is, as a result of

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of the influence of the British Government and the spread of education given by them, that India is now getting united. It is undesirable that the growth of such a feeling of unity should be impeded. Every one must try, at this moment, to avoid unnecessary fuss and help the Government as much as possible.

The Dravidan, of the 24th April, accuses the Home Rulers of making a bargain that they would supply men for the war only if they are granted Home Rule and comparesthem with ~~the~~ Shylock of old and the Marwaries of the present day.

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608. **The Home Rule Deputation.**

(Dated 25th April 1918, para 23, page 694).

The Hindu Nesan, of the 25th April, reverts to this subject and observes:- We do not know when this rule quoted by Mr. Fisher came into ~~force~~ force. Still we should like to know ~~whem this is t~~ whether all the passengers that go to England from here week after week proceed in the national interest. Secondly if this rule had been in force, would the Government of India have granted passports to two deputations in succession as they did? Considering the importance of the matter, the Government of India would never have acted against rules and so we have no reason to complain against them. The reply of Mr. Fisher, therefore, appears to be only an after-thought.

This paper also refers to the detention of the first Home Rule deputation consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. B.V. Narasimha Ayyar and others at Gibralter and to an amount of £100 sent to them not having reached them, and remarks that the British Government ~~would~~ who stopped the deputation at a place where no communications would reach them and where

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they were rendered practically helpless, would be conferring a great boon on them by facilitating their return to their ~~xx~~ native land.

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609. **India and Home Rule.**

(Dated 23rd April 1918, para 40, page 699).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 23rd April, has a long article attacking the anti-Home Rulers, especially the Zamindars, who are described as a set of selfish people lacking education, hankering after titles, worldly pleasures and the favour of the authorities and having no settled principles. In this article the following observations find a place:- The announcement of the Secretary of State for India on the 20th August last makes it clear that the object of the Englishmen in keeping India under their control is only to befit us to have Home Rule and ultimately leave the country completely in our hands. Now the time has come for us to have Home Rule. Our undaunted leaders and the sufferings undergone by them have made us unalterably resolute. Our present low condition is itself a sufficient inducement for us to demand Home Rule. The very feeling of jealousy again against foreigners has given us a never-abating zeal. The political revolution in Russia has infused into us the required spirit. The words of English statesmen that even small countries have a life and a soul of their own serve as a beacon light to guide us along our onward march towards Home Rule. The false statements of unprincipled men like Sydenham and Welby offer sufficient justification for our Home Rule movement. The thousands of Germans roaming about Siberia have provoked us and impelled us to strive for Home Rule. The words of the Prime Minister two days back that this is a time of trial for the British Empire itself have terrified us and stirred up our loyalty and made us

demand Home Rule. The Justice party which foolishly attempts to commit excesses have infused into us enough of patriotism. The Police myrmidons, who have comitted mistakes in the case of the ladies by name Sindubala and in that of thousands of youngsters, have taught us a lesson. These are some of the items that have really strengthened us. The feeling that there are several other causes like these facilities the creation of a sound current of public opinion in favour of Home Rule, while very few are the forces that are working against Home Rule. After the Secretary of State has announced that Home Rule will be granted to the Indians, Lord Pentland Mr. Welby and Doctor Nayar in India cannot succeed in preventing it, however much they may try for it. So the Zamindars will have to rue for it in the future, if they associate with the English official and merchants in India. This is not a hasty assertion but the verdict of history. When Home Rule is acquired, Mr. Welby and Doctor Nayar, the best friends of the zamindars, will be nowhere. So let not the Zamindars get into mid-water relying on these mud-horses.

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610. <u>The friends and foes of Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 23rd April 1918, para 43, page 701).

In the course of a long article under this heading contributed by a correspondent to the Prapanchamitran, of the 23rd April, the following observations occur:- It is not clear why the non-Brahmans here, who do not want the Brahmans to occupy a high position, stupidly says that the white bureaucracy, which rejected the Elementary Education Bill of Gokhale, are necessary.

When some Dravidans say that Home Rule is not required for India, they are proving traitors to their country. Is it not the words of Dharmaputra, "though we fight with the Kauravas, all of us, 105 in number, should stand united if a stranger should oppose them" that we should follow?

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611. **The Madras Women's Association.**

(Dated 26th April 1918, para 67, page 705).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th April, reports that the Madras Women's Association has, in a meeting passed a resolution criticising the obstruction of constitutional political agitation and the cancellation of the passports of the Home Rule deputation, and requesting the grant of the Congress-League reforms.

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612. **The Tilak deputation.**

(Dated 19th April, 1918, para 80, page 708).

In the course of a leading article on this subject, the Swadesabhimani, of the 19th April, observes:- There is not the least sign of statesmanship in refusing passports to the Tilak deputation. It is as much in the interests of the empire as of India that the latter should be granted Swaraj. Not only in the present war, but in the wars that yet to come, it is India that must protect the Empire. The thirty-three millions of India's population is at present as useless to the Empire as the waters of the ocean to a thirsty man. The Government could hardly get 6,000 Indians to enlist in the in the Defence Force. This is the fault of the bureaucracy and not of the other day that the empire cannot be defended without the help of India, the Government are not ready to co-operate with the popular leaders. We cannot help deploring that it did not occur to a single

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statesman among you that when you are in need of India's help it is not expedient to shun the leaders such as Tilak, the uncrowned king of India. You would not permit agitation either here or in England. It is like the proverb which says that the father would not feed his child and the mother could not allow it to beg.

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612. **The Home Rule Movement.**

(Dated 24th April 1918, para 81, page 708).

A correspondent, writing in English to the Suprabhatam of the 24th April, in his article on "the Mahajana Sabha II" remarks:- The Home Rule movement inaugurated by that venerable lady has been most enthusiastically received by the masses. The tour of Lokamanya Tilak and its unprecedented success is a challenge to the 'dug outs.' The firm stand made by the ryots in Kaira shows to the world in unmistakable tones the fact that the people do trust implicitly in their great leaders like the Mahatma and are no longer the wards of Doctor Nair and Sydenhamites, who always profess to be the champions and accredited agents of the 'dumb millions'.

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613. **Tilak's speech in Madras and Home Rule.**

(Dated 27th April 1918, para 82, page 709).

The Kerala Patrika, of the 27th April, referring to Mr. Tilak's recent speech in Madras on his way back to Poona observes:- "We are not prepared to consider those people real well-wishers of India, who agree with these extremists that now is the time to use their obstinacy and strength (in a strife) with the Government.

Continuing the same subject an editorial note concludes with the remark, "Although it is agreed on all hands that Home Rule should be granted to India we are not of opinion that it will immediately be gained wither by intimidating the Government or by assuming a militant attitude towards it.

Even if Home Rule were gained at once we do not think that the people of India are now able to appropriately use such freedom.

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613. Home Rule.

(Dated 1st May 1918, para 84, page 709).

The Malayala Manorama, of the 1st May says that it is seen that the Muhammadan, Yakub Hasan, made the following remarks in a Home Rule meeting recently held in Madras:- Foreigners rule over us. Another foreigner is coming to invade us. Is it necessary for us to help one foreign Government to fight another foreign Government? Is any one likely to feel any incentive to do that? The paper adds that the question has already been adequately ~~andswered~~ answered by His Exalted Highness the Nizam and others.

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614. The Home Rule deputation to England.

(Dated 23rd April, 1918, para 1, page 713).

In a leader under the heading "The Collapse of the Home Rule and Congress Deputations," The Travancore Times, for the week ending 23rd April, observes:- "~~Why~~ "We cannot imagine a more inopportune and untimely agitation than that of the Home Rulers at this critical period of the Empire's history. That they had the heart to start on a voyage to England to capture the British public at this juncture when ev every British citizen thinks of nothing but the grave crisis

to which the Empire is exposed, passes our comprehension-.... Already an agitation has been set on foot to protest against the action of the Cabinet. Mrs. Besant, the accepted medium for a calm political atmosphere during the sojourn in India of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of States for India, has begun to speak against the action. ..... She evidently wants to turn peaceful India into another Ireland. Instead of devoting her energies to rouse the people to make them concentrate all their enegrgies on the vigorous prosecution of the war she is helping to fritter way the energies of this country."

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614. **The Home Rule ultimatum to His Excellency the Viceroy.**

(Dated 2nd May 1918, para 2, page 713).

In a leader on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 2nd May says:- "In our last issue we made mention of an 'ultimatum' addressed to the Viceroy by Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants of henchman, Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, and others in which they made the Viceroy plainly understand that 'nothing short of responsible government--Home Rule embodied in a statute, will be accepted by the country.' We have already dealt with the motive behind this ultimatum, namely, disappointed ambition and vanity--the ungracious-ness of the demand and the utter lack of proportion displayed in the petulent message. .... The dispassionate politician, who is not swayed by the passions of the hour, who disdains, cheap, popular applause, has to ask the question whether we have prepared ourselves to receive a higher and noble destiny in the Imperial Federation. We have sorrowfully to admit that, however much politicians of a type might rear from public platforms and quote chapter and verse to prove the Indian's fitness for local self-government, those who dispassionately watch the progress of Indian

politics far from the din and strife of party ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ politics have to admit that we have still much to learn much to unlearn, before we seriously think of governing ourselves. .... We want to get the moon, there is the desire, but will any amount of crying or tall talk or beating of the big-drum bring that luminary within our reach? If only we have the will and the determination, we cannot only get our aspirations satisfied, but entitle ourselves to be regarded as a self-respecting people and not a nation of 'wind-bags'."

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615. **Home Rule for India.**

(Dated 26th & 27th April 1918, para 24, page 721).

In the course of an article contributed to the Desabhaktan, of the 26th and ~~xxx~~ 27th April, by a correspondent, he refers to the various ~~argumnt~~ arguments advanced against the grant of Home Rule to India and pointing out that the plea of the authorities that they are gradually conferring Home Rule on the people has no meaning in that the Indians have not been materially benefited by the reformed Executive and Legislative Councils, observes:- Every new commission appointed, new Institution established or new law passed confers greater advantages on the officials than on the people, both in the matter of authority and salary. Every enterprise of the Indians, therefore, depends for its success upon the favour of the officials. It is the Indian Civil Service Officials that ~~xx~~ exercise all ~~xxx~~ authority in administering the laws and if any one of them administer them wrongly, there is no remedy against it, for the appeal has to be made only to another of the same class. No complaint against the Indian Civil Service men, has, to my knowledge, been dealt with sympathetically by the Government, and every member of the ruling race enjoys the privilege of this protec- protection. Even the Indian officials treat the people un-

unsympathetically, as they feel that they are in good graces of the ruling race. Evan those, whose appointments are due to the persistent efforts of the Congress, are no exception to this. But it may be that these have been given high appointments for the very purpose of their incurring the displeasure of the public.

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616. **The Home Rule Deputation.**

(Dated 25th April 1918, para 57, page 734).

Under this heading the Ravi, of the 25th April, has a leader which says that at a time when the British have concentrated all their attention on the war, the Home Rulers are threatening that, if Home Rule is not granted to India, India will be endangered and evil will overtake her. It says that it is therefore no wonder that the Home Rule deputation was stopped by the British Cabinet.

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617. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 3rd May 1918, para 87, page 740).

In an article stating that while Canada, Ireland and South Africa have all obtained Self-government India has been unable to obtain it even after 300 years of British rule, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 3rd May, writes:- Our people do not realise their duties. They do not know how to carry on a just fight for their rights and liberties. They are more ignorant still of constitutional agitaton. This is why we have failed to get Home Rule. So long as we remain steeped in ignorance without gaining a proper insight into the affairs of the world and keep up our caste andreligious differances, we shall not get Home Rule or a Just administration, nor escape our suffering. We shall now

know nothing but servitude. If we do not get Home Rule while under the British, we shall never get it at all. It is therefore our foremost duty to help the British at the present juncture. It behoves all Indians to realise their duties in this connexion.

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 7th May, writes:- His Excellency the Viceroy refused to consider the question of Home Rule at the Delhi Conference. This is most deplorable We can only think that His Excellency was constrained to take this attitude. Only a short time ago His Excellency has said that Home Rule is the goal of the British administration in India. The present rigid attitude of His Excellency has, therefore, created great discontent in the country. It would be well to reconsider the matter and gladeen the hearts of the people. .... The capacity to govern is not obtained the moment Home Rule is granted. ... It would not be wise to let go the means of strengthening the foundations of the Empire for fear of losing autocratic power. High-handedness and considerations of prestige ought not to permit measures detrimental to the interests of the Empire.

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618. **A meeting of Home Rulers.**

(Dated 30th April 1918, para 104, page 744).

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 30th April, refers to the meeting ~~held at~~ the Gokhale Hall, on Tuesday last under the presidency of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar in connexion with the cancellation of the passports for the Home Rulers Among the speakers the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan expressed his personal opinion and said:- The people of India have been asked to prepare to fight the Germans. Why should we fight the Germans? The people of India are ruled by an alien Government The power, which threatens to attack us, is also

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an alien one. This being the case why should the people of India assist one foreign Government against another foreign Government? Is it for this reason the people desire a change in Government.

The Editor observes Mr. Yakoob Hasan, ~~unmindful~~ unmindful of the favours, more especially, the considerations shown by the British Government to Mussalmans, has formed an erroneous opinion. The Muslim public cannot at all concur in this opinion. The whole world knows that one of the results of the British rule in India is peace and tranquility which she did not enjoy in the past. Moreover the British Raj grants religious toleration and supports the Idea of fair play.

The Editor proceeds to say that ~~xxx~~ any change in the present form of Government would be the ruin of India, and that perhaps the Hon'ble Mr. Yakoob Hasan desires, by substituting Home Rule for existing administration, to see that the state of affairs that existed before the advent of the British Raj! In conclusion the writer quotes Mr. Roosevelt that India is not yet fit for Self-government.

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619. **Home Rule and the War.**

(Dated 7th May 1918, para 29, page 762).

The Desabhaktan, in its leader of the 7th May under this heading, makes the following observations among others:- Ever since a resolution was passed by the Calcutta Congress of 1906 that it was only Home Rule that could remove the misery of India, the agitation for Home Rule has been spreading here gradually, and it is only after the beginning of the European war that it became very active, which shows that there is some kind of connexion between the European war and Home Rule for India. Now the Prime Minister has appealed to India for help, and though the people of India are all of one mind in the matter of helping England, there is a difference of opinion among them as to how and when it is to be done, some viewing that we should render assistance immediately without complaining about our grievances, some others saying that help should be given only after getting assurance about the grant of Home Rule from the Government, while there are yet others who think that help should be given only after the Government grant Home Rule. All this difference of opinion is due only to the conduct of the bureaucrats and the Anglo-Indians who have committed many cruel acts against the British justice, as is evidenced by the laws enacted from 1818 to 1915. It is the bureaucrats that are preventing the growth of a friendly feeling between us and our rulers. The latest instance of this is the conduct of the Provincial Government having prevented Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant from attending the Delhi Conference in spite of their having been invited by the Government of India but this is not the time for us to take to heart the conduct of the bureaucrats and harbour a feeling of hatred. We should do our duty.

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620. **The Demand for Home Rule.**

(Dated 14th May 1918, para 47, page 769).

Adverting to the letter written by Mr. Gandhi to the Viceroy after the Delhi Conference, the Prapanchamitran of the 14th May, says:- The Government and the Europeans belonging to the ruling race adduced many arguments against Home Rule, the most important of which is that it is only the English-educated men and not the people that demand it, and that men like Mr. Tilak are not popular leaders. Not only the world but even the Government of India have openly accepted that Mr. Gandhi is a great man and never utters an untruth, and he says in his letter that every former demands Home Rule and that Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and others are real leaders of the people. What will the Government do now? It is only gentlemen like the editor of the Madras Mail that have no sense and speak as they like. We warn the Government officials to speak carefully hereafter.

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621. **The Home Rule struggle.**

(Dated 11th May 1918, para 54, page 770).

The Desabhaktan, of the 11th May publishes an article headed "A hero writes from the Home Rule front," in which the writer makes the following observations among others: The Home Rule was is now going on very actively. The enemies are trying to drive us back; but we are driving them back. Mr. Welby, the commander of one portion of the enemy army is retreating to Calcutta. You know that Mr. Tilak the Commander-in-Chief of our Home Rule army was prevented from going to England. Alas! The moment our enemies heard that our Commander-in-chief was coming, they got terrified and began to raise a cry. It was when this Home Rule war

this Home Rule war was being waged very severely that Mr. Montagu ran down from England to bring about a peace. His landing at Bombay, his departure to Delhi, his visit to other places and his return to England were all private. It remains to be seen whether his private inquiry will end the Home Rule war or make it continue. We should not stop it until we achieve the object for which we are fighting. While we continue this fight, we should not forget our duty to the King, which is to join him in giving a blow to the arrogance of the Germans.

Another correspondent of the same paper reproduces an utterance of Mr. Tilak in which he appeals to the people not to give up their efforts for obtaining Home Rule and observes:- The Home Rule agitation was begun only to make you the masters in your house instead of being servants. If I get into your house and take the articles in the kitchen, would you like it? The meaning of the demand for Home Rule is only that we want the power of managing our household. It is only lunatics and children that cannot manage their household. .... As long as commerce and political matters are jumbled together in the Indian administration, it will be a great mistake to separate Swadeshism from politics.... The law has declared our ideal of Home Rule to be just. The whole of India has chalked out a scheme of Home Rule and if this scheme is not granted the mistake will be yours. This is a great responsibility on your shoulders. Your object cannot be achieved by miracles. You should work for it. I trust that Providence will give you the strength and zeal to achieve your object within two years. I believe that the war will come to an end at least in 1918. Then we can gather together in some place in India and hoist the flag of Home Rule.

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622. **The Home Rule agitation.**

(Dated 8th May 1918, para 88, page 777).

The Andhraprakasika, of the 8th May, refers to the Home Rule resolution proposed to be moved at the Delhi Conference, and to the letter of Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar to President Wilson, etc., and remarks:- These things are the chief cause of the misunderstanding between the rulers and the ruled. The Government should put an end to the Home Rule propaganda before expecting any help from the people, and not keep quite as if they were powerless.

In an article published in the Malayala Manorama, of the 8th May, one Mr. K.K.Irawata Ayyar tries to refute the contention of the Justice that the members of the Home Rule party consists of Brahmans, and that self-government means Brahman Government and to justify the contention of the Home Rulers that self-government is absolutely necessary for the progress of education, fellow feeling and national consciousness. He points out that it is only when Indian leaders found that the British Government yielded to the demands of the Colonies that they too should be given a hand in the administration of the Empire, that they found itabsosutely necessary to advance the claims of India for her rightful place in the Empire, that the Secretary of State speech of the 20th August and his visit to India are not looked upon with favour by the Anglo-Indians who are opposed to the grant of self-government to India, that the British people come to know of India and her people only through the speeches of the Anglo-Indians and the writings of their organs, which loudly proclaim that India is unfit for self-government, and that it is therefore that it was decided to send a deputation headed by Lok.Tilak with a view to acquaint the British people with the real state of affairs in

India. To this article the editor adds a foot-note pointing out that the majority of the Home Rulers are Brahmans that that the independent opinion of the Malayala Manorama is that the introduction of such reforms as are demanded by the Congress-Muslim League before the non-Brahmans make considerable progress in ~~educated and~~ education and before the caste distinctions and hatred disappear, will be prejudicial to the interests of the country as a whole.

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623. <u>Home Rule for India</u>.

(Dated 17th May 1918, para 1, page 789).

The Commonweal, for the week ending 17th May, writes:- ""We are glad to note that the Right Hon'ble E.S.Montagu has arrived in England. He willhave a hard battle to fight against Lord Milner and Mr. Balfour. Lord Curzon will, if he stands by his previous statement, give Home Rule; Mr. Chamberlain will probably be ready to give it, in stages; the Premier will most likely take whatever he thinks tobe the most popular course at the moment. What an unspeakable blessing it would be if Great Britain had one single statesman gifted with vision and imagination. A grudging, half-hearted, limping measure of reform will only increase popular anger; nothing short of the fixing of an early date for complete Home Rule, with stages covering the short road thereto, the first embracing the essentials of the Congress-League scheme as a minimum, has any chance of acceptance. Personally I think that in view of the swift progress of other nations in consequence of the war--say the proposed creation ofa United and Free Poland, after a century of tripple division and autocracy--India should have responsible Government declared by the Peace Congress at the close of the war. But this is merely my own opinion, and no popular mandate has been given for the increased claim."

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823. **Recruitment and Home Rule.**

(Dated 20th May, 1918, para 3, page 789).

The following appears in New India of the 20th May:- "Mr. N.K.Ramaswami Ayyar, Secretary, Poona Home Rule League Branch, Tanjore, writes:- 'At a public meeting of the citizens of Tanjore, held at 6 p.m. on the 19th May, 1917, at the United National Hall, the following resolution was passed:- "That we do not approve of the recent Provincial Conference resolution on recruitment; while reiterating our continued loyalty of the King-Emperor, and our readiness to help the Empire and our motherland in the present critical stage of the war. We cannot help the war in men or money unless we feel we are fighting for our Empire, which feeling will come only when all the interned and political prisoners are released, reactionary and repressive laws are abrogated, and Home Rule Bill for India--on the lines of the Congress-League Scheme--is passed in Parliament as is being done for Ireland.'

"This is a really practical resolution and so useful. To release all political prisoners and detenus, to abrogate all reactionary and repressive laws--no list given--and to pass a HomeRule Bill for India on the lines of the Congress-League scheme--which does not give Home Rule, but is only first stage to it--through Parliament, a task which will probably take a year, is to assure the King- Emperor of a loyalty that will seem to himpeculiarly valuable, since it promises help hich cannot be made available until after his Empire has triumphed--when it will not be wanted; or has perished--when it will be too late. We now know where to look for true statesmanship."

624. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 20th May 1918, para 96, page 812).

The Andhraprakasika, of the 20th May, says:- Though it may not be possible to foretell the results of the various addresses presented to Mr. Montagu, one thing is certain beyond dispute, namely that so far as the opinion of th e masses goes, India is unsuited to Home Rule.

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625. **Home Rulers and recruitment.**

(Dated 23rd May 1918, para 2, page 819).

The West Coast Spectator, of the 23rd May, remarks:- "One Mr. N.K.Ramaswami Ayyar of Tanjore, who is familiar to newspaper readers as one of the doughty champions of Varnashram Dharma, and who changes his religious views as often as the chameleon changes its colour, writes to the papers against recruiting in the most approved Extremist style. He and his following, who they say are many, want certain guarantees before they could encourage recruiting. Rubbish of the kind this gentleman writes happily cannot create any impression on the intelligent, but can do a deal of harm among immature youths. We think it is high time writings of the kind were stopped. The Extremist Home Ruler must be plainly told that the Government cannot for a moment tolerate interference with recruiting.".

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626. **The American Home Rule for India League.**

(Dated 25th May 1918, para 8, page 821).

Justice, of the 25th May, writes:- "A Home Rule League called the 'Indian Home Rule League of America' has been formed in that country with Lala Lajput Rai as President. ... In America and in other countries which cannot be classed under the Category of free countries, lies, black lies and unblushing lies about British Rule in India are sought to be disseminated by a certain clique the members of which are misguided enough to imagine that in that way they could themselves obtain ascendancy. ..... There may be other countries where similar organisations have been brought into being for the deliberate purpose of blackening of British Rule in India. But what we want to know is whether it would be proper on the part of British subjects to carry on a propaganda of this kind against British Rule in a foreign country, friendly or unfriendly. .... Mrs. Besant once spoke of pressure on the British Government from America. Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar in the course of a letter to New India on the 15th of this month, referring to what took place at the Conjeevaram conference, wrote thus:- "How can persons who behave in such a way expect to find sympathy towards their political aspirations, for instance, with President Wilson and other American friends, before whom our case is being vigorously pressed through the exertions of Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner as was made evident by the correspondence made public recently." The reference is to Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's scandalous epistle to President Wilson and the other and the other documents published with it. We thus see the motive of these agitators, and yet the authorities in India are appealing to them for their co-operation for the success

successful prosecution of the War. We have under the circumstances a straight question to put to the Government and it is this, namely, whether they are going to trifle with the sacred interests of the mute millions of India in order to placate a few irreconcilables, or whether they mean really to govern the country on the lines and on the principles which guided British administrators in the past and from which such good has occurred to the Indian people."

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627. **The Home Rule deputation to England.**

(Dated 25th May 1918, para 6, page 821).

The following appears in Justice of the 25th May:-

"In Thursday's New India the safe return of the Home Rule deputation is described as 'good news' it adds: "Well, public life in India will be the sweeter for the return of the deputation and the exit of Doctor Nayar.'. This is from the point of view of the Adyar oracles. But public life in India will not be sweeter or anything else of the kind till Mrs. Besant and other irresponsible individuals like her clear out of the country or cease to meddle with politics."

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628. <u>The stoppage of Home Rule deputation to England.</u>

(Dated 29th April 1918, para 22, page 827).

Remarking that the reply of Mr. Fisher in the House of Commons, that the passports to the Home Rule deputation were cancelled according to the rule that they are issued to only those who go to England in the national interests, which such passports are easily available to the members of the ruling race, who wish to proceed to England, indicates only the distrust of the Government in the Indians, the Vaisyamitran, of the 29th April, expresses its surprise at the Government asking the Indians to co-operate with them providing men and money for the war, without reposing confidence in them and after causing dissatisfaction to them by preventing their representatives from appealing to the British public, while an anti-Indian agitation is allowed to be carried on there, adds:-.............. Now the Irish are offered Home Rule and asked to enlist for the war, while the Indians are prohibited even from going to the capital of the Empire and are asked similarly to enlist for the war and cheerfully sacrifice their all. This is the skill of statesmanship. If the shortcomings of these statesmen are pointed out, the people are pronounced to be disloyal. It appears to be the opinion of our authorities that loyalty consists in the people acting according to the words of the rulers and sacrificing their own interests. The bureaucrats should understand that there is no use in delaying the grant of liberty, that is demanded by the Indians, by offering pretexts.

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629. **Mrs. Besant.**

(Dated 22nd May 1918, para 79, page 843).

The Andhraprakasika, of the 22nd May says:- Mrs. Besant states that though she is ready to raise recruits for the army to help in the present war, she cannot be enthusiastic until it is declared that the war is waged for the freedom of India and for the protection of the Empire. .... She perhaps wants to taste internment once again; The more the Government are liberal towards her, the greater is her disregard to them. We fear her agitation may bring disaster to India, and place India in the hands of the Germans. At a time when the enemy is near at hand, she sets on foot unnecessary agitation and tries to obstruct the defence of the country. It is not just on the part of the Government to see this and keep quiet. Do they think that the whole of India is in her hand? Brahmans only support her. But it is only the Non-Brahmans who give help in the war. The skill of Brahmans lies in begging. We fear that her agitation will set the Brahmans and non-Brahmans against one another and make the Indians slaves of the enemy. But we hope that such a contingency will not arise so long as the Indians are under the benign rule of the British.

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630. **The Home Rule Movement.**

(Dated 25th May 1918, para 83, page 844).

Under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th May ~~May~~, says:- A special correspondent to the Manchester Guardian has stated that the Congress of old was a deliberative body, that the present political movement is full of spirit, that the Home Rule Leagues have all through the ~~year~~ year been working for the spread of the Movement, and that the influence of the educated, who are derided as being only a few, is unlimited. The utterances of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, he says, are ~~[illegible]~~ availed of the ~~[illegible]~~ strengthen the movement. There is nothing which savours of disloyalty in the movement. India doesnot not want to sver its connexion with England. ... When the English and the Indians meet, there is the feeling of the former being the rulers and the latter the ruled. This feeling nourishes the Home Rule propaganda. Indians entertain the idea that both should occupy an equal place. The officials treat even the Indian Zamindars and mill-owners with scant courtesy so much so that the Home Rule movement is strengthened by these rich men joining it. The aim of the Home Rule movement is strengthened by these rich men joining it. The aim of the Home Rule Movement is to have an efficient free State in a big Empire. The Indians are confident that they can administer their own affairs. .... The Mail is of opinion that the visit of Mr. Montagu has helped only to create Bolsheviks. The Anglo-Indian papers try to separate the rulers and the ruled. The rulers should shove aside the advice of these papers and rouse the enthusiasm of the people. The cancellation of the passports of the Home Rule deputation while granting passports to Doctor Nayar has caused disappointment to the people. The pledges of the sovereigns of England should be given effect to. This is undoubtedly the best time for attaining Home Rule.

In an article quoting a sentence from His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech on the 24th May 1917, to the effect that it is a prime duty of the popular leaders to spread political education among the masses by constitutional means and thereby create in them the fitness for responsible Government, the Swadesabhimani, of the 24th May, observes:- During the twelve months that followed the political situation has undergone an enormous change and the people ought to feel thankful to His Excellency for the policy of repression since inaugurated and for the subsequent results which proceeded from the internment of Mrs. Besant, the letter addressed to Doctor Wilson by Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, the pronouncement made by His Majesty at this juncture and which led to the breaking away of the fetters of repression forged by the Madras Government and Mr. Montagu's visit from beyond the seas. All these changes are the result of the kindly attitude of His Excellency Lord Pentland. The paper next proceeds to suggest that the further extension of political education among the masses should be done through the religious preachers and country dramas, street singers, etc., without crossing the constitutional bounds and taking care at the same time to instil a due measure of love for the bureaucracy and the Empire.

631- **The Godavari District Conference.**

(Dated 27th May 1918, para 86, page 845).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th May, reports the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Godavari District Conference to have said:- .... Is it not a slur on the British rule in India that the country has been reduced to great poverty? .... The rulers say that they will consider our case after the war. We know they have failed to carry out their former pledges and, under such circumstances, how can we be sure that they will ~~grant~~ grant us any concessions after after the war...... The English are earning large income in India by entering service or by trade,. They naturally fear that this will be interfered with if Home Rule is granted to us. .... So long as the Westerners have faith in materialism, war will be taking place if we hesitate to avail ourselves of the present rare opportunity to join the army, the fault is ours. Whether the rulers promise Home Rule or not, we must abide by the command of His Imperial Majesty and enter the army. ... There will come a day when the white-faced men who wield authority here and believe that they are heaven born will feel sorry for not placing confidence in us. We may look to Home Rule afterwards. We are not bargaining we have been asking for Home Rule for many years past. Is not Home Rule a debt due to the people from a civilised Govenment? Whether they give us anything or not, we are determined to enter the army in accordance with the order of His Imperial Majesty. It is unwise to say that we are bargaining.

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632. **The Home Rule League in America.**

(Dated 24th May 1918, para 109, page 850).

The Manorama, of the 24th May, refers to the formation of a Home Rule for India League in America, and states that this league is likely to be very serviceable to India, if only seditionists are not allowed to creep into it.

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633. **Messrs. Tilak and Pal.**

(Dated 30th May 1918, para 31, page 866).

Remarking that some Home Rule papers are rising a hue and cry over the prohibition of Mr. Tilak's deputation to England and the permission granted to Doctor Nayar, the Dravidan, of the 30th May observes:- Doctor Nayar has been permitted to go to England because, unlike the Home Rulers who whether knowing or not knowing the present condition of England, exceeded all bounds in speaking of the British Government at Gouri ~~Wilas~~ vilas before their deputation left for England, he left quickly and with good intentions. If the Home Rulers think calmly over the matter they will learn that they are themselves responsible for their leaders having been prohibited from going to England.

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634. **Anti-Home Rule Movement.**

(Dated 28th May 1918, para 69, page 876).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th May, refers to certain anti-Home Rule movement in England and remarks that it is regrettable that the Indians have not an opportunity of contradicting the statements of the party of Lord Sydenham and representing facts to the English public. .... The Labour Party in England has published a draft declaration stating that all nations required Home Rule and that freedom is

desirable for India. Unless the Indians help the cause it cannot succeed. The prohibition of Indian Home Rulers from going to England is unbearable. The sooner these restrictions are removed the more conducive would it be to the prosperity of the Empire.

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634. **Dacoities and Home Rulers.**

(Dated 28th May 1918, para 70, page 876).

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th May, referring to the remarks of the Madras Mail suspecting that the present disturbance in the Kistna district are due to political agitators, writes:- That the Mail should charge the Home Rulers with such an offence instead of suggesting means to avert the troubles caused by economic conditions is in consonance with the ~~[illegible]~~ nature of the journal. .... The leaders in the Kistna district must represent to the Government that the allegations of the Mail are quite groundless.

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635. **The Home Rule Deputation.**

(Dated 31st May 1918, para 9[illegible], page 883).

Referring to the public meeting held at Madras, protesting against the cancellation of the passports granted to the Home Rule deputation, the Swadesabhimani, of the 31st May, writes:- It was pointed out at the meeting that the Government was clearly guilty of partiality in allowing only Doctor Nayar to proceed to England. There are two ways in which the bureaucracy can vindicate its position: one is to permit the Home Rule deputation to go to England; the other is to ask Doctor Nayar to come back. The public want to see which of these two courses the Government will adopt. In our opinion however, it seems impossible that the Government would accept either of these alternatives.

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636. "Will Home Rule mean justice to India?"

(Dated 5th June 1918, para 1, page 889).

In a leader on this question, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 5th June, says:- "The small body of agitators who form the Home Rule party here are fond of contending that in demanding Home Rule they are only asking the British nation to do bare justice to India. ... It is not really worth while to refute seriously their demands as they do not represent any numerous class or section of the Indian community and their claim to speak on behalf of the people of India has no basis whatsoever. ... Of the many millions of Non-Brahmans, Mrs. Besant can count only a few tens among her followers. The Mussalmans and Indian Christians have as a body declined to have anything to do with the movement, with perhaps, a stray exception or two which can be accounted for easily enough. What is left over can represent but a negligible minority, and it needs no elaborate argument to prove that if changes in the administration of India be introduced at the bidding of this minority it will only be without the knowledge, consent or desire of the people of India.....The Home Ruler has made no secret of his wish as expressed at the Calcutta Congress, that the Britisher should clear out the country in about ten years, that is, if he be not turned out before that by passive resistance at Kaira or poll-taking at Conjeevaram. .... If the Britisher should run away from his sacred charge because a few irreconcilables embarrass him with impossible demands he would be only branding himself as a political incompetent and moral coward. .... The responsible administrators of the country ought not to be hustled into introducing changes in the name of the war and for other adventitious causes which have very little bearing on the question whether the country is fitted to

be given a sort of Government in which the British element is to be at a discount. It would be scarcely just to the vast masses of the population who are happily ignorant ~~if~~ of the pernicious agitation for Home Rule and who live in the firm faith that their interests ~~is~~ are in the hands of a strong and settled Government, if the War Cabinet or the Government here will countenance changes which willshake that faith in ever so little measure. We are behind none in demanding of the British Government an ample measure of justice to India but it must be justice which, as a Quarterly Reviewer said during the Repeal agitation, will protect and conciliate the peaceable, the reasonable and the loyal -- justice that will discountenance fiction, defeat conspiracy and punish sedition."

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636. <u>Home Rulers and the forthcoming reforms</u>.

(Dated 5th June 1918,para 2, page 889).

We do not understand all this hurry about reforms. .... Their effect will be far-reaching and they will alter the very character of the administration, and ~~fa~~ false step or an ill-considered change will mean irretrievable disaster. .... Reform in a hurry will inevitably lead to repentance at leisure, when the ~~Reform in a~~ repentence will not help in undoihg the mischief. The period of gestation of the Minto Morley reforms was nearly four years and we wonder why the forthcoming reforms which for aught we know may be more radical in their conception, should be allowed only four months. What has happened in India that the War cabinet should feel obliged to force the peace of reform? .... The few irreconcilables who want Home Rule have not ceased their agitation but are carrying it on with redoubled violence, and we have no sign of that calm atmosphere for which Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu pleaded in such touching terms.

Unconcealed threats are held out as to what the Home Rulers propose to do if the reforms fell short of their expectations. They tried to create a division at the Delhi Conference by threatening an impasse but the attempt luckily failed. And now they are saying that they will not help recruitment if the Cabinet did not promise Home Rule forthwith. This is a fair sample of the calmness which has been produced in the Indian atmosphere! If the War Cabinet were bent upon placating irreconcilables the reforms which they may have to introduce for the purpose will only lead to worse confusion, and the discontent of the population of India will then be very real."

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636. **The British element in the public Services.**

(Dated 7th June 1918, para 3, page 890).

In an article headed "At what cost!" the Commonweal, for the week ending 7th June, states:- "The cult of the maintenance of the British element in the services not only secures an unwarranted scale of remunerating to satisfy the inexorable demands of the white officials, but enables them to help men of their blood fleece this country by prostituting their official positions to further missionary propaganda and foreign exploitation. The people's money is freely given away to foist upon an unwilling people a faith to which they are utterly alien and with which they have no sympathy. The foreign exploiter is shown the most flagrant favouritism in the matter of licences, contracts and other business aids. In the English clubs, dotted over the whole country, the white business aids. In the English clubs, dotted over the whole country, the white official, the missionary and the exploiter are in perpetual conspiracy to drain this land even of its limited wealth. This is not the worst. In all these at least there is a method and a system.

What is more deplorable, is that some officials take individual fancies and overwhelm the particular individual with favours, no matter at what cost to the tax-payer. ... This incessant demand for increasing the already high salaries of the European officials is flourished before us as the only way to retain the British element in the public services. But we who know by the experiences what that Brigish element stands for in the workaday world, cannot but confess that we are not at all enamoured of it. The public indeed look with eagerness for the day when the public services will as far as possible be Indianised."

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636. **A Home Rule Lecture.**

(Dated 10th June 1918, para 4, page 890).

Referring to a lecture delivered at Trichinopoly on the 6th instant by T.V.Kalyanasundaram Mudaliyar, editor of the Desabhaktan, Justice, of the 10th June, remarks:- "We draw attention to the report of a lecture delivered at Trichinopoly by a Home Ruler. Even in ordinary times the tone of trend of the speech, if of course correctly reported, would, in our judgment, be objectionable but at the present moment when owing to high prices of almost every article of consumption the people's nerves are strung, it is positively mischievous. .... We do not know whether such preaching will not react on the success of the recruiting and the war loan if nothing worse is immediately perceptible. We are afraid that teachings such as the above if they permeate the ignorant masses may engender in them a contempt for law and order."

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637. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 8th June 1918, para 48, page 908).

A correspondent contributes a long communication under this heading to the Swadesamitran, of the 8th June, which he describes the real meaning of Home Rule to be the Indians getting a control over every branch of the administration and quoting a statement said to have been made by Lord Curzon that the two main features of the British rule in India were the draining of her wealth and the administration of the country appeals to the people not to rely upon the favour of the Englishman for their commercial advancement, but to take to the boycot of foreign goods and the use of indigenous ones as the best means of acquiring Home Rule.

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638. **The Home Rule Deputation: Doctor Nayar.**

(Dated 9th June 1918, para 61, page 913).

The Lokaprakasam, of the 9th June, in an article on the Home Rule deputation, states that it is not clear why the members of the Home Rule deputation who went with the consent of the Viceroy should have been abruptly stopped in their way by the War Cabinet while Doctor Nayar who is an anti-Home Ruler and whose avowed object is creating hatred between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans was allowed to proceed. In any case it must be said that it was not well done. While the Indian leaders are working hard to carry out the behests of the Viceroy expressed at the War Conference Delhi to help the Government with men and money, it is regrettable that the War Cabinet should have acted in such a manner as to cause disgust to the leaders. But all the same these leaders will not refrain from doing their duty. It would however, have been more graceful if the members of the Home Rule deputation were left to themselves.

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639. **<u>Home Rule and Malabar Mappillas.</u>**

(Dated 8th June 1918, para 88, page 922).

A correspondent who calls himself a ~~'Mapp~~ 'Mappilla' writing in the Samadarsi, of the 8th June, attributes the backward place taken by the Malabar Mappillas in the Home Rule agitation~~,~~ to two ~~xxxxxxxx~~ causes;- viz., (1) want of education, (2) the fact that the few who are educated are mostly Government servants or dependents on them. He regrets the community has therefore no one to lead them. He does not understand why some Mappilla officials occasionally issue advice and appeals to the community, whether the object of such action be 'to increase the magnitude of expected titles, or to cringe thefavour of civilians or ~~xxx~~ for the good of the community,' He concludes with the observation that the fewness of Mappillas taking part in the Home Rule Leagues in Malabar cannot be taken to show that they are against Home Rule and that the number of Mappilla signatories in the memorial presented to the Secretary of State is a better index of their feeling in the matter.

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640. **<u>The Home Rule Day.</u>**

(Dated 15th June 1918, para 29, page 945).

The Desabhaktan, of the 15th June, traces the history of the Home Rule movement in this Presidency through its different stages beginning from the internment of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, and referring to their subsequent release as a result of the popular protest against it, the announcement of the 20th August last, the visit of Mr. Montagu to India after it his "getting caught in the hands of the bureaucrats and acting upon their words", His "having carried to England ~~xxx~~ only the opinion of the Government here" and not that of the people, the action of the Govennment in having cancelled the passports of the Home Rule deputation

and granted a passport to Doctor Nayar, "who is a stumbling block in the way of the progress of India," the "increase in the number of excesses committed by the bureaucrats within the last year" and their "thoughtless" application of the Defence of India Act and the Press Act, appeals to the people to celebrate the Home Rule day by starting Home Rule leagues whereever they do not exist and by all existing leagues in the Presidency passing resolutions that the attack of Lord Willingdon against Home Rulers is reprehensible and that he should immediately withdraw them and communicating the same to the Viceroy and the Prime Minister.

The Swadesamitran, of the 15th June, has a leader under this heading in which it says:- It was Lord Curzon that unwittingly infused, for the first time a sense of self-respect and self-help into the Indians ten years, ago. Similarly Lord Pentland infused a new strength to the Home Rule leagues last year. His statement that India could not hope to have Home Rule in the near future gave rise to an unpresedented political agitation throughout the country and to a knowledge of politics spreading even in villages in the remotest corner and every one has realised the nature of the rule of the bureaucrats. The Home Rule movement showed signs of slackening a little after the visit of Mr. Montagu, but the precious speech of Lord Willingdon, doubting the loyalty of the Home Rulers, came in timely to infuse a new spirit into the movement. When the whole country was stunned with this speech, the Secretary of State for India forget himself and ventured to accuse Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, the honorary president of our Home Rule League, of having behaved disgracefully! We have now to think that we were a little hasty in attributing a liberal heart and honest motives to the Secretary of State for India. Judging from recent speech

incidents, the mpmk position is not very encouraging. However this may be, our duty is clear and that is to stand by our original scheme firmly, which appears to be the only way of our reaching our ideal. It seems that arrangements are being made throughout the country to celebrate the Home Rule day tomorrow. We expect the people of our country will realize their old victories and resolve on this occasion to obtain new ones. Union and steady determination will conquer the world.

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641. Lord Willingdon and the Home Rulers.

(18th June 1918, para 46, page 949).

Referring to Lord Willingdon's attack on Home Rulers at the recent war conference held at Bombay, the Prapanchamitran, of the 18th June, observes:- We have been time and again dining upon the authorities that, at this critical period of the War, there should be a spirit of concord between the Government officials and the leaders of the people and that the feelings of the people should not be wounded at this juncture when men and money have to be gathered for the war. Still the mischievous tendency of the authorities has not gone down. We condemn the conduct of the Governor of Bombay. We are of opinion that the best thing for him to do will be to apologize to Mr. Tilak immediately. If the Government would make Lord Willingdon pay half of his monthly salary of Rs.10,000 to the war loan as a punishment for his mistake, we think the other Governors will act with forethought hereafter.

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642. **The object of the Home Rule League.**

(Dated 18th June 1918, para 54, page 950).

A correspondent to the Desabhaktan, of the 18th June describes the object of the Home Rule League to be the acquisition of Home Rule for India by all constitutional means, preserving at the same time the link of India with Great Britain as a part of the British Empire and the adoption of measures for propagating the idea of Home Rule, and observes:- Home Rule means the rule of the people for the benefit of the people. It implies the privilege of the people to depute their representatives for the purpose of framing laws for the benefit of the people and levying taxes on them. The principle, that it indicates a despotic Government for the people to obey laws not passed by such representatives, is accepted and applied by the British in their own administration. Thus Home Rule has fulfilled the aspirations of the people in England. It will do so even in India. Home Rule means popular education, that is, free and compulsory education for every child. Home Rule means that ever one would be treated equally before law, be he white or black, that Courts and Judges will remain permanently in one place, and that Collectors who are revenue officials will not be Magistrates. Home Rule means that Indians will manage their affairs themselves except in matters connected with foreign countries or international question. Home Rule means that the Criminal Investigation Department will no longer be permitted to interfere in political matters or tease innocent and law-abiding people. It will exist only for detecting offenders. Home Rule means that the Police will be the servants and not the masters of the people and that they will have sufficient salaries to avoid their taking bribes from the poor. Home Rule means that you will have a citizen army of your own to preserve

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order inside the country as well as to protect its frontiers. You will belong to a free country conducting a free administration. You will be a men and not slaves. You will also be independent citizens and not be subject to others.

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643. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 14th June 1918, para 90, page 963).

Commenting on the article in the Modern Review on Home Rule the Sampad Abhyud[illegible] of the 14th June, writes:- The Modern Review has boldly pointed out that Home Rule is the real Paradise both to the rulers and the ruled and autocracy is only rule. This is true. Pride of authority, like drunkenness, intoxicates man and deprives him of the power of judgment and eventually brings him to grief. Those who attempt to ruin others for the sake of autocratic powers for themselves will eventually cut their own throats. Their deeds will be on their heads. Some of the present-day people., unable to understand this, ignore all religion and morals and styling themselves reformers become enemies not only to themselves but to the whole world. That is what Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arabindo Ghose, Tilak, Gandhi, Sastri and other Home Rulers are telling us. All fair-minded men not only in our country but everywhere in the world are preaching the principles of democracy.

The Nazrani deepika of the 14th June, has a long article on India and Home Rule in the course of which it says that the grant of Home Rule can have only harmful results for India. Even enemies will admit that India is everyday improving under British Government. Let historians say how much India benefited under Muhammadan Rule.

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644. **Home Rule.**

(Dated 19th June 1918, para 42, page 983).

Referring to an article in the Edinburgh Review by Mr. Lovat Fraser the Malayala Manorama, of the 19th June remarks that by far the largest portion of the population in India is of opinion that it would be harm ful and destructive for India to get Home Rule all at once. The lower classes are against the enfeebling of the authority of the British Government Mrs. Besant has some non-Brahman followers but their number is smaller than the number of Brahmans who are not in her camp. On the whole, if any concessions were made to this agitation which is started by a few who set more store by their lungs than by their brains by mistaking it for the opinion of the whole population of India it would redound to the eternal discredit of the present Cabinet. Home Rulers require the Government to publish a notification that they are ready to grant Home Rule if they want men and money for the war. Could there be a worse kind of threat? It would be insufferable to millions of loyal subjects to consider that the Government has come to such a pass as to be intimidated by this threat. Mrs. Besant is not used to holding the same opinion for any considerable length of time. Her progress is like that of a monkey jumping from one branch to another and then to another. It would not at all be strange if she joins the non-Brahmans at an early date.

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The Lokaprakasam, of the 24th June, has an article under the title "Home Rule" in the course of which it says:- What liberty can be had under the British Government? Assessing taxes, making laws, enlisting in the army, destroying industries all these are done by foreigners. Those who encourage industries are natives only. If we consider all these one by one it will be found that Government by foreigner is quite adverse to the interests of the natives. It seems two are the important features of British administration. Lord Curzon, when he addressed the English merchants' Association, has declared that it is their duty to draw the wealth of India and govern it.

It is appropriate, it seems, to British overlordship to Govern the country and drain its wealth. Reduction of wealth through administration and administration through reduction of wealth, these two form the special features of British administration. It goes on to urge the people to stop the current of wealth going to foreigners and to start industries.

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645. The Home Rule movement and England.

(Dated 19th June 1918, para 61, page 992).

In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th June, writes:- ... Indians should agitate for the withdrawal of the Government order cancelling the passports of Mr. Tilak and others. They should send him and some other Indian leaders to England and should support the efforts of the Labour party in England by giving them as much money as necessary. Above all, there is one important fact: the success of Indian aspirations chiefly depends on the self-determination of Indians themselves.

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646. **The present condition.**

(Dated 2nd July 1918, para 26, page 1043).

In the course of a leader under this heading the Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd July says:- There has never been such a political crisis in India as has occurred now. The Englishmen and their white allies say that the great wasr now going on is being conducted for the establishment of righteousness in the world. The Kaiser also said recently that the Germans too were fighting only with the same object. Whatever the truth may be, we have no doubt that righteousness will be established at the end of the War. The American President stated that Home Rule would be established throughout the world as a result of this war. We heartily believe it. Of all the countries in the world India is the most hooured one. The only flaw with her is that she has not Home Rule and Indians have been trying to remove this flaw. But no great power in the world has come forward to utter a sympathetic word about India, the Englishmen have only been making sweet promises for the last so many years but have done nothing in practice. We can definitely say that unless India is granted Home Rule and the aspirations of her thirty-two crores of people are satisfied, this war will not come to an end. But there are some indications that the demands of the people for reforms will not be fulfilled. It is stated by the Madras Mail that some who have been calling themselves Home Rulers have secretly joined the Government party. This is the time when the leaders should mk not forsake the people. Our actions should be such as can be recorded in history. It is patriots who are prepared to sacrifice their all at the feet of mother Bharata now that are required. The people should attach no importance to the threat of the Police or the officials. No one need be afraid of the false patriots who have joined the Govern-

Gover ment. As they are irresolute thieves seeking after self-interest, they will tremble if they see real patriots. The truth of this will be out soon. The war of liberty which we will begin shortly is one the like of which the world has not seen till now. No arms, no loss of life, no riot, no contravention of law. This war is one which will surprise everybody and make them feel that it is one approved by God. Even the leading officials of Government like the Governors are going to prostrate at the feet of the coming heroes fighting for Indian liberty. This war will soon begin.

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647. The British Prime Minister on Home Rule.

(Dated 2nd July 1918, para 45, page 1049).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd July, writes:- Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, states: "Every one in the world should have equal privileges. The future world will have Home Rule throughout it. I have fought for the liberty of the people." We are very glad. Is this true? If true, why has he not yet spoken openly about India? Not a drop of blood need be shed he says, "I have fought." He need not fight for granting Home Rule to India. The Germans do not stand in the way. Therefore the philosophy preached by the Prime Minister cannot be understood by the Indians until he grants Home Rule to India.

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648. "No Self-Government"?

(Dated 1st July 1918, para 49, page 1051).

Commenting on an article under this heading contributed by Sir J.D.Rees to "the Nineteenth Century and After" for May last, the Andhrapatrika, of the 1st July, remarks:- .... Since the day of his retirement, he (Sir J.D.Rees) has taken a vow, as a Member of Parliament to jealously champion the rights of the European community. .... We do not mean to say that Sir J.D.Rees has turned into a Home Ruler all at once, but there is not the least doubt that his old attitude has undergone a great change. ... Leaving aside considerations of justice, it cannot but strike all those gifted with a little foresight that the grant of Home Rule to India is g highly necessary in the interests ofthe Empire. .... There are still many people who think that an absolute Government guided by sympathetifc foreigners will will be best for India for all time to come, that democracy is a meaningless term, that the bureaucracy has monopolised all intelligence and that it governs India for the benefit of Indians. But Sir J Rees who has been opposing till now the ideals of the Indian people to the best of his ability, taking upon himself the championship of the rihgts rights of the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ bureaucracy preaches today to his colleagues that they shouldnot abuse the advocates of self-government. He wants them to open their eyes and look at the new fø world in the face. The wave of democracy has submerged Russia and made England bow down her head to the suffragette problem. He warns his friends that to go against that flood is useless. ... What can be the reason of this gradual leaving of the representatives of the Government to the side of the Indians? Are they all wrong? or, are the Anglo-Indian critics wrong? This question agitate the minds of those like Sir Rees who have never been accustomed to be partial to "Home Rule". It struck Sir Rees that all his old views are wrong.

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...l His opinions on the activities of the Sydenham party in support of the non-Brahman movement and against the Home Rulers deserve notice. ... Abuses against the people will always have no other effect than complicating the political problem. He warns ~~xxx~~ that it is not safe to put off the Indian political problem till the close of the war and that it is necessary to settle it in the middle of the war. ... He asks whether it would be possible under these circumstances to take away the right of speech from the Indians alone and see that the wind of freedom does not below over their country. .... It will be safe if the opponents to national ideals realize the truth of the concluding sentences, of Sir Rees, understand that it is useless to attempt to stop the flood of liberty and act accordingly.

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649. **Opponent's misrepresentations and the duty of the Indians.**

(Dated 2nd July, 1918, para 53, page 1052).

Referring to the activities of the Sydenham party against the Home Rule movement, the Andhrapatrika, of the 2nd July, writes:- When the truth about the anti-Home Rule Movement could be perceived by one like Sir J.D.Rees it must become clear to all highminded people. ... It is therefore, becomes absolutely necessary that an Indian deputation should be sent at once to England to expose the misrepresentations of the Sydenham party and inform the British public of the real state. The Indo-British Association have sent a manifesto full of mis-statements to English papers. .... Those who do not know the real nature of these associations (The Madras Dravidian Association, the South Indian Mahammadan Association and the like) may be under the false impression that they are very influential bodies. The English public may not know that most of these associations were

spurious, having been started only a little while before the arrival of Mr. Montagu into this country. The Indians should undertake to enlighten such people. .... The Indo-British Association is trying their utmost to spread false views among Englishmen about the Home Rule movement. ..... If the Indians at least persist in their demands, they are sure to get them. For some unknwon reason, since the War Conference at Delhi, there has been a relaxation in the strong determination towards the reforms among the so-called leaders. ... Those who advocated the Congress League scheme before by writing books and delivering lectures are leaving to the party of Mr. Banerjea. .... It is remarkable that the people are not yet prepared to do their duty, though the present crisis demands it. .... The view that Mr. Tilak is the fittest man to deliver a high message to the people at the present time, and that it would be well to hold the special session of the Congress under his presidency is becoming more and more popular. ... If the Indians work selflessly, having always before them the advancement of their country as their ideal, they can have a proper place in the British Empire.

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650. <u>The restrictions imposed on the Home Rulers.</u>

(Dated 3rd July 1918, para 71, page 1057).

Referring to the disapproval of the Review of Reviews of the restrictions imposed on the Home Rulers, the Andhra-patrika (weekly) of the 3rd July, remarks that with proper efforts, the sympathy of the leaders in England can be enlisted and the restrictions imposed on the Home Rulers removed.

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651. The Home Rule agitation and the British public.

(Dated 5th July 1918, para 73, page 1058).

Regarding the necessity of sending an Indian deputation to England to advocate there the national cause, the Andhraprakasika of the 5th July, writes:- Unless the ideals of Indians are widely known to the British public, there is no chance of their political bonds breaking down. The Home Rule deputations started to achieve that end. But the Sydenham party could bring their influence to bear upon the authorities and succeed in cancelling the passports granted to those deputations under the pretext of policy. This has stood in the way of the Home Rule cause gaining ground. ..... Mr. Montagu had stated in his famous speech that the present Government in India is rigid like iron or wood. Men of all shades of opinion admit the necessity for reforms. But the heart does not consent and the hands shrink when the requisite reforms are to be actually drawn up. It is strange to expect hearty consent, when the matter comes to foregoing long-enjoyed privileges.

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652. The Principle of self-determination.

(6th July 1918, para 77, page 1059).

Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 6th July writes:- ... They want that all dependant countries should have the system of Government which they choose. The English statesmen have recognized this principle ofself-determination. With this object in view, the Indians expressed in the Lucknow Congress that their ideal is complete self-government and unanimously desired as a first step towards it, the grant of reforms as drawn up in the Congress-League scheme. According to the principle of self-determination, the British people should grant our request. But an examination of the present political situation does not lead

us to hope in the least that our Congress League scheme will be granted. .... We can say that the British apply the principle of self-determination to our country, if only they grant us this....... These sentences of President Wilson at the Anniversary celebration of Washington convey a message of hope and joy to all subject countries. The Government will do well to bear in mind these sentences, when they grant political reforms to Indian at the present critical juncture. May the English Nation, which is celebrating the day of the American Independence, behave towards India so that its present enthusiasm may show itself, in action.

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653. **Our Mission in England.**

(Dated 6th July 1918, para 79, page 1060).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th July, publishes in Telugu an extract under this heading from the India, which contains:- ... India should not be governed by self-interested merchants and officials...... To root out this mutual distrust, activity active and energetic Indians who can work strenuously so that their country may lend a helping hand to the Empire must come to England. The English Government have already thrown obstacles in the way of those who wanted to accomplish this task, by their inconsiderate act (of withholding the passports of Indian leaders) and have thereby intensified the feelings of mutual distrust. There cannot be a greater political blunder than this..... If the War Cabinet is so devoid of farsightedness, is it improbable that strange notions should prevail in India about this matter..... In the crisis which now faces the empire, the help of India is becoming more and more desirable ..... It is very unjust to prevent such a well-known leader as Mr. Tilak who wanted to clear away all prejudices existing between Great Britain

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and India, from coming to England. This act cannot improve feelings of mutual good will. Evil is sure to come out of this. It is difficult to foresee what advantages will result from the action of the War Cabinet.

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654. An appeal to anti-Home Rulers.

(Dated 12th July 1918, para 26, page 1110).

In the course of a leader under this heading, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th July, observes:- It is the difference in race between the rulers and the ruled in our country that accounts for an agitation being started here against Home Rule. Distruct and suspicion come to stay in a country ruled by foreigners and this not only makes it impossible for the rulers and the ruled in that country to agree with other but also creates fascinations among the ruled themselves. The main object of the Justice party who are now working against Home Rule is to secure communal representation in public offices and Legislative Councils. They could have attained this object without working against the Home Rule movement. But, instead of doing this, they began to protraitors to their country and, as a result, have injured it and themselves Communal representation can never secure the progress of the country. If this is introduced, it is only the Europeans that will come to represent the backward classes, and these will not surely work for the good of India. There is no mention whatever of communal representation in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We do not know if the anti-Home Rulers understand the tactics of the Government at least now. The aim of the bureaucracy is only to divide and rule the Indians and they will never give up this principle. We should conquer them by means of our union.

The paper then appeals to the anti-Home Ruler to give up their hatred of the Home Rulers then appeals

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and realising that there is no connexion whatever between caste-hatred and Home Rule and that caste-hatred only injures them as well as the Home Rulers while it benefits the Europeans, join the HomeRulers and work for the country.

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655. Caste distinctions and Home Rule.

(Dated 17th July 1918, para 46, page 1120).

The Swadesamitran, of the 17th July refers to the Madras Mail having taken to its old cry that India cannot aspire for HomeRule as long as Caste distinctions exist, and observes:; This has been the stock argument of our enemies If there are no caste distinctions in the western countries are there not more rigid distinctions based on wealth and rank there? As long as these distinctions continue, are the western nations, especially our Englishmen, fit for Home Rule?

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656. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 30th July 1918, para 15, page 1286).

In marking an appeal to the people to bestir themselves and educate the masses about Home Rule, so that there may be an incessant and united demand for it, which the Government would find it difficult to refuse a correspondent to the Prapanchamitran, of the 30th July observes:- There is no use of our finding fault with the British and colonial ministers. They entered into the War only to acquire liberty for "small helpless States" like Belgium and Servia andnot "big helpless States" like India and Egypt. For if they protect small states it will betoken magnanimity, without endangering their own position, while the grant of freedom to big States may mean danger to themselves (the ministers). It is a mistake on our part to praise the Americans for

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having granted liberty to the uncivilised Philippinos and complain that the British have not acted similarly in the case of India. For, even the British are still postponing the grant of Home Rule to Ireland nearer home, though they have conferred powers of self-government upon the distant colonies. .... Our rulers are "allies" to Greece and Russia which have dethroned their Kings. They are "Neutrals" to those who openly demand a democracy in South Africa and England! But they imprison without any inquiry Hindus and Muhammadans who cry for Home Rule!! So, as the rulers seem to be deaf to our complaints, we have only to appeal to our people and make their voice loud enough to be heard.

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657. <u>Sir Reginald Craddock and Home Rule</u>.

(Dated 20th August 1918, para 29, page 1324).

The Prapanchamitran, of the 20th August, returns to the attack of Sir Reginald Craddock on the Home Rulers in India and observes:- There have of late been several signs to show that India will attain Home Rule soon and the most important of them is the abuse heaped on the Indian patriots by the Europeans. We see that the more the authorities revile the Home Rulers, the greater becomes the sense of patriotism and the strength of mind of the people. The seveal acts of the authorities. ... We would warn the Government that their administration can be carried on well, only if they respect the patriots and secure their sympathy. The moderates do not command the esteem of the people. The disparaging remarks made by Sir Reginald Craddock and others about the patriots of the country will create in the minds of the people in a spirit of discontent against the Government. The Government should realise the indignation of the people at the thoughtless speech of this Lieutenant-Governor, should reprimand him for it and also issue a circular that no official should speak like this hereafter.

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658. **Great Britain and Home Rule for India.**

(Dated 25th October 1918, para 3, page 1571).

The Connonweal for the week ending 25th October, writes:- "If the two great European Autocracies ~~thms~~ thus pass from the stage of history, and the peoples they ruled have thus broken their chains, then in the whole wide world there remains no strong Autocracy save that of Britain, who holds, India under absolute Rule. Can this ~~anarchism~~ anachronism remain? Can this injustice be perpetuated after the War? Cannot Britain do, in consonance with her own great traditions that Germany and Austria have done in opposition to theirs? Will she allow herself to lag behind the Hohenzollern and and the Hapsburg in relation to their subject Nationalities, and keep from the Indian population the liberty which they have freely given to theirs? Will she pass new coercive legislation to suppress disaffection, when Kaiser Wilhelm proclaims an amnesty to all political prisoners, trusting to gratitude and to self-government the future welfare of the State? Such a situation is impossible and cannot endure. We feel that Britain, the hope of all oppressed Nationalities in the world, will not fail to do in India that which has been done in Germany and in Austria. She will seize the golden opportunity now before her, and will do of her own free will that which otherwise a liberated world will insistently demand shall be done, so that no root of bitterness shall remain after peace has stilled the waters of strife, and no restless, discontented people, chafing under a foreign yoke shall remain a seed of discord in a world of harmony. Britain in the fifth year of her war for freedom cannot leave the chains of her "Great Dependency". Germany and Austria do not prattle about "fitness", and "capacity, and their duties as trustees; they acknowledge the supreme Right of a people of Liberty."

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659. **The Englishman and Home Rule.**

(Dated 12th November 1918, para 4, page 1632).

In criticising the Englishman's review of Mr. Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar's book on the "plight of India before the establishment of British Rule, " New India, of the 12 12th November, says:- "Even if the grossly exaggerated account given by Mr. Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar ~~xxxxx~~ were true, would that be a reason for denying India's right to rule herself? Is France's miserable plight in pre-revolution days--later than the coming here of the British--a reason against her ruling herself now? The Englishman is indeed hard put to it to find decent reasons for keeping India under the autocracy of Great Britain.

"We very much wish that the Englishman would look at the question from another standpoint: Whence does Britain draw the authority to pronounce on India's fitness or unfitness? Has a nation no rights? By what law does Britain claim to keep India as a subject race? Ought one country be allowed by the remaining nations of the world to imperil the world's future peace by maintaining autocracy in India, using for that purpose repressive measures, abolish everywhere else, to keep down insurrection? Can Britain be admitted into the League of Nations while she maintains autocracy, and can only hold her own in India by a system of <u>letters de cachet</u> and other arbitrary methods, which the rest of the world has outgrown?

"There were four great autocracies at the beginning of the war: The Tsar over Russia, the Austrian Emperor over austria, the Kaiser over Germany, the British Emperor over India. Two have fallen; one is falling; is the fouth to remain, to be the amazement of, and a menace to, a world set free?"

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660. **Brahmans and Home Rule.**

(Dated 20th November 1918, para 2, page 1683).

In commenting on the Poet Laureate's views on the political situation in India, as expressed in a letter to Indian friend, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 20th November, says:- "In this connexion we think it necessary that the British public should be told the whole truth with regard to the Home Rule movement in India and the excesses of the agitators. Not only from the discussions carried on in the British Press but also from private letters we have been receiving from friends in England, it would appear that the Notion is almost universal there has Brahmans, as a class, favour Home Rule and subscribe without reservation to Mrs. Besant's school of politics. .... The large majority of the Brahmans and most of the leaders are as much opposed to any constitutional changes which are likely to undermine the British power as the mass of the population, including the Non-Brahmans, and this fact ought to be impressed upon the attention of the British public at every opportunity, so that they may not be misled into the beli that the Home Rule is a Brahman movement. It is a movement to give an accurate definition of it, started by Mrs. Besant and run by a few devoted Theosophical adherents of hers, both Brahman and non-Brahman, followed by a number of nonentities who have been trained to make as much noise as possible, so that a certain amount of notoriety may be attached to the movement it is rather difficult to define so slippery a movement, but we have done our best to definite it so as warn the British people from being misled into believing Home Rule is any wide-spread Movement with the natural and responsible leaders of the country at its back.".

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